

Harman attacks proposal to privatise Ulster home helps

By Sarah Boseley

A proposal to abolish the home help service in Northern Ireland and replace it with individual grants would leave the elderly and needy in the lurch, Ms Harriet Harman, Labour's social services spokeswoman, said yesterday.

Ms Harman, who is tabling parliamentary questions on the proposal, said she feared that if the privatisation scheme was approved for Northern Ireland it would soon be adopted by Conservative-controlled councils on the mainland.

Such a scheme might be included in the green paper reviewing the work of the social services which is expected this summer, she added.

Abolition of home helps is proposed in a report from a joint working party of Northern Ireland's department of health and social security and its health and social services boards. After consultation ends on May 31, the Government will decide whether to accept the recommendations.

Their report, which criticises the service for high costs and administering "a part-time workforce receiving full terms and conditions of service", has been dismissed as "completely worthless, both as a piece of analysis and as a guide to policy".

Mr Bob Rowthorn, a reader in economics attached to King's College, Cambridge, who examined the report for the National Union of Public Employees, which represents the home helps, says it is misleading.

Far from rising, real expenditure for each recipient fell 37 per cent between 1975 and 1980, and a further 7 per cent between 1980 and 1983, he says.

The overall cost of the home help service has risen because the number of people in Northern Ireland receiving it has increased from 13,104 in 1975 to 28,023 in 1983.

Mr Rowthorn said yesterday that when he looked at the report's statistical calculations "I was just staggered by its incompetence. I would assume it was done very hurriedly and that it was designed to bolster

the case they have decided on."

Ms Harman said that she intended to raise Mr Rowthorn's criticisms in the Commons. NUP's regional organiser for Northern Ireland, Ms Inez McCormack, said that his conclusions testified to prejudice in the working party's seven assistant directors and one director of social services.

Miss McCormack said: "I regard the report as a matter of gross class prejudice, only matched by its gross incompetence. We are demanding the withdrawal of the report and an inquiry into the competence and motivation of the senior social services personnel who drew it up."

The working party's proposed grant scheme would provide a small safety net force, while the majority of people would be assessed by the social services and given a grant, to enable them to employ home help privately or through voluntary or commercial agency.

Critics of the scheme suggest that the old and frail might be unable to find and employ somebody trustworthy by themselves, and Ms Harman complained that there would be no checks on standards.

She added: "The new scheme is also clearly intended to undermine the pay and conditions of those who work as home helps."

Home helps in Northern Ireland earned less than £2 an hour but the report showed that the working party did not believe in a minimum wage, she said.

A Northern Ireland Office spokesman said that abolishing the home help system was only one of the working party's recommendations and that the Government's decision would take account of representations made by interested parties.

Fire kills boy

A two-year-old boy, James Hodges, died yesterday and his brother Christopher, aged eight months, was badly hurt when fire destroyed their caravan home at Druids Heath, Wyke, Leicestershire. The boys' parents, Barry and Jackie Hodges, and a neighbour were slightly hurt.

Tory Scots plan to give the PM a rough ride at this week's Perth conference

Thatcher faces rebellion over rates

By Jean Stead, Scottish Correspondent

Mrs Thatcher faces a sharp reverse in traditional Scottish Tories' loyalty, when she addresses their conference in Perth this week.

Tory support has wobbled disastrously in the country because of a rate revaluation which, combined with cuts in rates support grants, is making small businesses bankrupt and forcing some domestic ratepayers to sell their homes.

In some cases rateable values have risen to 10 times their previous levels. Over 40 resolutions on local agenda condemn the Government for failing to take promised action to reform the rates system.

The Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr George Younger, admitted yesterday on Scottish BBC TV that Tory support in Scotland has dropped sharply over the past two or three months because of the rates row and said: "We are going to sort it out — that is our job."

Mr Younger may announce a relief package at the conference. He has already found £90 million from national tax-

ation to moderate the impact on domestic rates.

But, with the Government review of rating reform likely to continue for some time yet, neither he nor Mrs Thatcher will be able to make a statement on reform at the conference. Mr Younger said they would be able to report on progress made by the review committee. All the signs so far are that opinion is moving in favour of some form of poll tax to replace rates.

The political row raging in Scotland is bringing public accusations of blame against the Government from Tory MPs and Tory councillors.

A short poll, conducted for the Scotsman newspaper and published today, shows Tory support in Scotland has dropped by 6 per cent since last November. In answer to the question: "If there was a general election now how would you vote?" 22 per cent said Tory, compared with 28 per cent in November 1984.

Labour's share rose from 46 to 47 per cent, the Liberal SDP Alliance from 13 to 18 per cent and the Scottish National Party stayed the same at 13 per cent.

The Tory vote in Scotland has remained relatively stable since the 1979 election, with 21 MPs being returned at the last election compared with Labour's 42. Mr Younger yesterday dismissed the idea that Tories in the south wrote off Scotland as "expendable" in election terms.

The effects of revaluation are already showing up in council byelection results. Councillor Brian Meek, convenor of Lothian Regional Council and a Tory moderate, said: "Two local byelections have been lost because of the revaluation and we cannot continue like this."

Mr Younger told ratepayers, when the effects of revaluation started to hit them, that he understood their concern but would be unfair to deny the benefit of the new valuation to those who stood to gain.

"That would be seen as moving the goalposts in the middle of the game." The average in England, taken with water charges, was still higher than Scotland, he said. England has not had a property revaluation since 1973.

This did little to appease his



George Younger: "We will sort it out."

Tory critics, who have become increasingly vociferous, say the revaluation has hit hard in the Tory heartlands of Perth, where Councillor Ross MacFarland, formerly convenor of the general purposes committee on the local council, has been beating the drum against rate support grant cuts by the Secretary of State.

"We started with a very low base and then had 50 per cent of our grant cut. It was unfair," he said. "We cut our

expenses to the bone and we have been penalised."

"We are certainly expecting an announcement about rates that will help out position at the Tory conference."

An indication of the tightness in the Tory ranks was the public official complaint made to the BBC by the chairman of the Scottish Tories after Mr Younger had been criticised by presenters taking part in a phone-in about rates last Wednesday night. There were over 30,000 calls, most of them blaming the Government for rate increases, which jammed the Scottish telephone system for an hour.

In answer to the complaint the controller of BBC Scotland, Mr Patrick Chalmers, offered to withdraw the TV cameras from this week's Tory conference.

There are strong indications that the Tory review body examining the rates system are moving towards some type of poll tax. Senior Tories in Scotland are confident that there will be an announcement soon. They expect the new system to be universal throughout the UK rather than to run on a trial basis in Scotland.

Two documents put out recently — one from the local government advisory committee and the other by Michael Forsyth, MP for Stirling, for the Conservative Political Centre — both come down heavily in favour of poll tax. Mr Forsyth admits the drawbacks of being that a poll tax would fall very heavily on those with low incomes. It would probably have to be led up to the local electoral register, which would mean that penalties would have to be imposed for failing to register.

But the average adult payment would be only £155 a year. A slightly higher estimate of £175 per head, on average, is given in the local government committee document.

A public inquiry by the Secretary of State is pending into the Labour-controlled Edinburgh district council's decision to raise its rate by 79 per cent.

The Labour Stirling council faces a default order and is likely to be brought to court over breaking its rate guidelines.

Remand prisoner numbers up 26pc

By Aileen Ballantyne

The number of remand prisoners has risen by 26 per cent in the past year, and the average time an accused person spends in gaol awaiting trial is over seven weeks in England and Wales, according to a report published today by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of offenders.

The report, whose figures have been confirmed as accurate by the Home Office, points out that on January 31 this year, 145 people had been held in prison without trial for over a year, and 2,365 had been in gaol for over three months.

Such prisoners, presumed innocent in law before trial, are being subjected for over long periods to conditions which are among the worst in the prison system, the report argues.

The average daily number of remand prisoners in March last year was 7,633. A year later the number had risen 26 per cent to 9,653.

A Home Office spokesman said it was concerned at the time spent on remand and the numbers involved. Experiments on setting a remand time limit would begin in late autumn.

Limits of 40 days for summary offences and 110 days for more serious offences have operated in Scotland for over a century.

Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, said last month that of 56 cases where the defendant was held in gaol for over 110 days, the largest group, 25 per cent, were due to pending related cases, 17 per cent because of witness delays, and 9 per cent because of defence delays.

The spokesman added that in the past month, after a commitment by Lord Hailsham to increase circuit judge numbers by 10 per cent, the number of judges had gone up from 340 to 375.

The Nacro report argues that as many people are committed to custody as are compatible with the public's protection should be bailed, since a defendant refused bail loses earnings, may lose his job, and his family may suffer.

Nacro argues that a defendant in custody is also at a disadvantage preparing for trial. A bailed defendant can be interviewed at the solicitor's office, and is free to trace witnesses and collect evidence.

Nacro's report is the latest in a series of highly critical assessments of the remand system. In 1980 the Criminal Bar Association suggested that the lack of remand limits in England and Wales made most common law systems, except that there was no real prospect for speedy trial.

Last year the all-party Commons home affairs committee observed: "Overcrowding is at its worst, and conditions are at their most squalid, in the local prisons and remand centres in which remand prisoners are housed."

A Tory Reform Group report this year noted that over 40 per cent of people remanded did not later receive a custodial sentence.

Bail and Remand in Custody, Nacro, 169 Clapham Road, London SW9 0PU.

Princess quits post

Princess Margaret is to retire as Chancellor of Keele University in Staffordshire next February after 30 years in office, it was announced yesterday.

The Princess was involved in a controversy at the university when she visited last year not to invite her to one of the major hall after Special Branch detectives had asked for a list of militant students when she attended a previous social function.

OBITUARY

Inventor of bridge 'that won the war'



Sir Donald Bailey: spent boyhood making bridges

SIR DONALD Bailey, the inventor of the Bailey bridge which played a crucial role in the Allied victory in the Second World War, died yesterday in hospital. He was 88. The movable military bridge was used in the Normandy landings and carried Allied troops, tanks, and guns over rivers and gorges in Europe. Field-Marshal Montgomery said: "Without the Bailey bridge we should not have won the war."

Sir Donald, who spent much of his boyhood making model bridges from pieces of wood and string, was modest about his achievement saying that it was just part of his job as a civil engineer. When his knighthood was announced in 1946 and a toast was proposed to him he replied: "I think the toast should be to the men who put the Bailey bridges up."

Sir Donald's bridge, assembled from welded panels linked by pinned joints and made of steel, came in light units easily carried by a few men. Montgomery said: "It was the best thing in that line we ever had."

Sir Donald was born in 1901 in Yorkshire. He was educated at the Leeds, Cambridge, and took an engineering degree at the University of Sheffield. He joined the Civil Service in 1928 and was posted to the experimental bridging staff of the army at Christchurch, Hampshire.

The War Office accepted the invention in 1941 and all the only experimental work was tried out in the drawing office and workshops of the Christchurch establishment.

Catholic shot near Belfast 'peace line'

From Paul Johnson

A 29-year-old Roman Catholic was seriously ill in a Belfast hospital last night, after a sectarian shooting.

The attack on the father of three took place early yesterday outside his home in the Ardoyne area of north Belfast. Two men, one carrying a rifle and the other a hand gun, crossed the so-called peace line which separates Catholic and Protestant housing estates.

They opened fire on a group of Catholics standing about 50 yards away.

The wounded man was hit in the chest by a burst of automatic fire. Police later found 14 spent bullet cases at the scene. Last night, they were questioning two men.

Two policemen on foot patrol in Omagh, County Tyrone, escaped injury yesterday, when a bomb hidden behind a wall was detonated as they passed.

More than 3,000 people marched along the Falls Road, west Belfast, yesterday to mark the anniversary of the 1981 hunger strikes at the Maze prison in which 10 people died. They gathered in Andersonstown, to hear a Sinn Féin Assembly member, Mr James McAllister, deny reports that there was any division between Sinn Féin and its military wing, the IRA.

Mr McAllister told the crowd that a black propaganda campaign was being mounted against the Republican movement, adding: "I am quite sure that the RUC is not quite dead but believe for a minute that the IRA is going soft or giving over resources for election purposes."

At the mention of Newry

where nine RUC officers were killed in a IRA mortar attack early this year, cheering and clapping broke out.

Sean MacStiofain, IRA chief of staff between 1969 and 1972, yesterday denied a story carried by the Sunday Times naming him as a police informer. During his period as chief of staff, when he was said to have been passing information to the police, 31 policemen and 176 soldiers were killed in Ulster, almost all of them by the IRA.

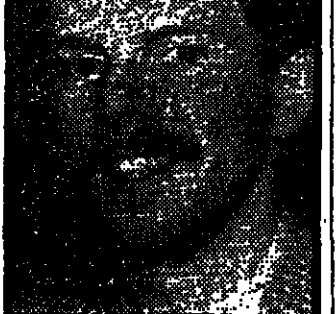
Mr William Homan, the 50-year-old Protestant shot dead last week outside his secluded home by a masked gunman, was buried yesterday in Leltrim, County Down.

A special fund has been set up for his 12-year-old son, Sammy, who is now an orphan. It is thought that Mr Heenan, a driver for the Environment Department, was mistaken for someone else.

Joe Joyce, in Dublin, adds to the use of "supergrasses" at non-jury trials in Northern Ireland was criticised at the weekend by Miss Geraldine Ferraro, the former US vice presidential candidate.

After hearing part of the evidence given by a Loyalist informer, William "Budgie" Allen, in Belfast on Friday, she told a press conference in Dublin that this was a method of trial that American lawyers might see as a breach of civil rights.

Miss Ferraro criticised the fact that up to 25 people at a time were being tried on the uncorroborated evidence of an informer. But her main criticism was that one judge tried cases.



IAN MEADOWS (above) last night won the 1985 final of BBC television's Mastermind contest.

Mr Meadows, aged 29, a hospital driver in Leicester, became the 13th Mastermind by scoring 16 points in his specialised subject, the English Civil War, 1642-47, and 14 in general knowledge.

NCCL ginger group formed

By Martin Linton

ONE of the first repercussions of the row inside the National Council for Civil Liberties seems likely to be formation of a new ginger group, the Libertarian Alliance, which will try to push the organisation towards a more "non-partisan" approach.

The former NCCL general secretary, Mr Larry Gostin, who resigned this week, is expected to join the new group. But the main impetus is coming from Mr Ron Lacey, campaign director of Mind, and a leading supporter of Mr Gostin in the battle which erupted at the NCCL's annual meeting last week.

The ginger group is still at a discussion stage, but it is clearly envisaged as a pressure group working within the NCCL and not in any sense as an alternative or possible rival organisation.

The nucleus would come from members of the NCCL inquiry into the miners' strike who resigned last week after the annual meeting refused to endorse their interim report, which recognised the right to work as well as to strike.

But the broader issue would be whether the NCCL should concern itself solely with civil liberties issues, or should try to be an all-party organisation helping people from all shades of the political spectrum.

The new group's steering committee includes members of all the main parties — Mr Alex Carlisle, the Liberal MP, Clive Laming, a member of the Conservative Party; Mr Lacey, and Mr Ian Martin, head of the Asian section of Amnesty International, who are Labour Party members.

Mr Lacey said last night: "We're not moving the NCCL to the right. We're trying to make it non-partisan."

The parliamentary civil liberties group, set up on the initiative of the NCCL and including MPs of all parties, met last week to discuss their attitude to the organisation in the wake of Mr Gostin's resignation, with a number of Conservative MPs pressing for a clean break.

But the majority of the group supported a move to hold talks with the NCCL before any decision is taken. It seems likely that they will maintain links with the organisation.

Rolls sell-off reports denied by Vickers

By Maggie Brown

Reports that the Rolls-Royce Motor Company was to be sold by the Vickers Engineering Group were emphatically denied last night by the company's finance director, Mr Tom Neville.

"It is totally untrue," he said. "Rolls-Royce is a valued mainstay business for us."

His denial came as it was revealed that a strategic 5.4 per cent stake has been built up in Vickers by the American financier, Mr Saul Steinberg.

Mr Steinberg, whose wealth is based on a conglomerate of insurance companies valued at around \$3 billion, is known for his financial trading and a tactic called "greenmail". For example, he recently bought 14 per cent of Walt Disney shares and made a substantial profit by selling them back to the parent company.

His stake in Vickers could be interpreted as just another investment for him, said Mr Neville. However, it could also signal the eventual change in ownership of the entire group.

Vickers has been viewed as a potential takeover target for at least two years. Several creditors such as Hawker Siddeley and Guest Keen and Nettlefold are known to have looked it over, recognising the scope for selling off businesses it already owns such as the Crew-based Rolls-Royce.

Mr Neville says there have been signs that North America has been starting to invest in Vickers when they saw the success of the Jaguar car company quotation last year.

Alternatively, Mr Steinberg, who bought the £11 million shareholding last Friday, may be gambling on the outcome of Vickers' multi-million-pound claim for improved government compensation for its nationalised, aerospace and ship-building assets.

The final hearing of the

major portion of the now-privatised British Aerospace, its warship building yard, at Barrow in Furness, is also up for sale to the private sector.

Vickers has always played down the hopes of an eventual pay-out. The company's shares, trading at their year's high of 275 pence on Friday, have increased by up to 30p in recent months as compensation hopes were raised, putting a £300-million takeover price tag on the company.

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building assets.

The final hearing of the eight-year case, before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, is fixed for June 24.

Vickers' aerospace assets, when nationalised in 1977 for \$45 million, went on to form a major portion of the now-privatised British Aerospace. Its warship building yard, at Barrow in Furness, is also up for sale to the private sector.

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In-fighting begins in transport union poll

By Keith Harper, Labour Editor

The political infighting began in earnest last night in the re-run election for the next general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

With a week to go before balloting, a group calling itself the Ron Todd Supporters' Group issued a statement in which it was claimed that the great majority of TGWU members were united behind Mr Todd.

It said that Mr Todd would get the overwhelming vote of confidence in his leadership and in the union that he had asked for.

More specifically, the statement said that he was expected to win seven or eight of the union's 11 regions. He was certain to hold on to his five he held last time, including London, the South-west, the North-west, Scotland and Ireland. To this, the statement said, could now be added the North-east and Yorkshire.

A spokesman for the group, who refused to be named, said the statement had not been put out with Mr Todd's authority but was based on a view held by many rank and file members that he would win the election handsomely.

Under union rules there is nothing to stop a campaign of this nature. It was adopted in the press during the previous campaign, with some effect, and forecasts of Mr Todd's eventual victory were made before the final count.

Mr Todd is the general secretary-elect, and has asked for a new ballot in order to clear the union's name of balloting irregularities. His opponent, Mr George Wright, reacted to last night's statement by saying: "Ron Todd and I are agreed that we should fight the campaign on the issues and not on other aspects."

Therefore, I would hope that groups of people detached totally from us would not put out statements on behalf of either of us. He would make no further comment.

The Employment Secretary, Mr Tom King, has been asked to investigate claims of irregularities in the effective elections of the Civil and Public Services Association. The allegation was made by Mr Edward Leigh, Tory MP for Gainsborough and Horncastle, who said that in the Ministry of Agriculture poll CPSA branch officials had handed out lists of "recommended" candidates to each voter with the ballot paper. The list had turned out to be the entire slate of the CPSA broad left group of Communists and their supporters," he said.

Breath test boon

By a Correspondent

A breath test which has been developed by a team of researchers in Scotland, could be used to diagnose a wide range of illnesses, saving expensive and often painful hospital tests as well as in spotting problem drinkers.

The test involves patients swallowing a capsule. This contains a white powder made out of a special non-radioactive isotope.

All the patient has to do is blow into a plastic bag several times in the next two hours. By drawing off the air in the bag and analysing it, the developers say it will be possible to tell if the patient's metabolism is working properly.

The evidence thus obtained could diagnose many disorders, including the liver disorder which gives early indication of a drink problem.

The test has been pioneered by Professor Michael Rennie and a small team of scientists and doctors at Dundee University and the city's Ninewells Hospital.

Professor Rennie, a physiologist, said yesterday: "We believe that the test could do away with many unpleasant and lengthy hospital checks."

It would be adapted to screen early symptoms of a form of cirrhosis of the liver that can indicate a drink problem.

The team is now looking for venture capital to start offering the breath test facility to British hospitals.

Medical advisors from one police force have asked for further details of the test. Scottish police forces recently voiced concern about the high incidence of problem drinking among some officers.

US flags burned during
Madrid march by 500,000

Anti-Reagan protests in Spain erupt into violence

From Jane Walker in Madrid

An estimated 500,000 people demonstrated yesterday against President Reagan's visit here in one of the biggest displays of anti-American sentiment seen in the Spanish capital.

Other demonstrations were staged across the country protesting at the two-day visit, starting today. Protesters demanded Spain's immediate withdrawal from Nato and attacked Mr Reagan's Central American policies.

The demonstrations were mainly good humoured, although there were scattered incidents. The worst was in Madrid when marchers threw

petrol bombs and rocks at the glass front of the conservative opposition Popular Alliance Party, whose leader, Mr Manuel Fraga, yesterday proclaimed Mr Reagan a "great and good friend." Several windows and a door were smashed.

Police and demonstrators clashed in the northern city of San Sebastian, while in Barcelona protesters broke down the door of the US consulate and sprayed the building with slogans.

US flags and emblems of Mr Reagan were burned during demonstrations across the country.

Crowds taking part in the Madrid demonstration, organised by leftwing parties and pacifist groups, marched three miles through the streets to the Plaza Colon, the square named after Christopher Columbus.

"Why did you do it? Why did you discover America?" demonstrators chanted to loud applause. Others called President Reagan "assassin" and "fascist murderer." A poster read, "If you like Nazi cemeteries so much, why don't you stay

there?" the crowd repeatedly yelled. "Nato no. Basta con el." A group of Nicaraguans, who carried a large banner reading "Nicaragua will triumph," were loudly cheered and two of them climbed the 100-foot Columbus column to fly their red and black flag. At least five US flags were burned during the demonstration.

President Reagan is arriving at a time when anti-American feeling in Spain is running high. The Spanish Government issued a strongly worded communiqué last week condemning the US trade embargo against Nicaragua, and a recent opinion poll shows that 74 per cent of Spaniards believe that Mr Reagan's arms policy endangers peace and brings the possibility of war closer.

During his 40 hours in Madrid, the President will devote his time to what one observer describes as "38 hours of public relations and one hour of politics." He is to have two brief meetings with the Prime Minister, Mr Felipe Gonzalez, and will have an informal lunch with him. He will also deliver an important speech to an invited audience at an economic and cultural foundation—his first public statement after the Bonn summit.

King Juan Carlos will host a state banquet in the royal palace and Mr Reagan will meet the opposition leader, Mr Fraga.

Mr Gonzalez has said he will discuss reviewing the number of US troops based in Spain, now totalling 12,500—under a bases agreement. "We see them as foreign troops on our territory," he said.

He says he favours Nato membership, but without integration in the military structure. "I see no need for it," he said. "It would not add or take anything away."

A poll published here yesterday shows that growing numbers of people disagree with the Government and favour leaving the Alliance: 54 per cent say they want Spain out as opposed to 51 per cent at the end of last year, with only 19 per cent wanting to stay in.

Nato gets warning on Star Wars

BRUSSELS: President Reagan's Star Wars research programme could cause serious divisions in the Western alliance, according to reports by Nato parliamentarians published yesterday.

The reports to the North Atlantic Assembly by 11 MPs from Britain, Canada, the US, and West Germany say that the US Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) could drive political, military, and technological wedges between Nato countries.

The assembly, grouping 184 parliamentarians from the 16 issues. The reports will form for debating alliance security issues. The reports will form the basis for discussion at a session in Stuttgart later this month.

A study by a British member, Mr David Clark, says that far from reassuring the public about nuclear weapons, "the consequences of SDI have in fact created new problems."

"It is to be hoped that the United States will see that the political disadvantages of giving the Soviets the upper hand in the public aspect of negotiations will outweigh the still unclear advantages of SDI," he said.

France became the first important Nato ally at the weekend to refuse a US invitation to join the \$26-billion research project. Norway and Denmark have also declined.

Another Britain, Mr Bruce George, in a report on the political implications of SDI, called it "a perfect public relations disaster for the Soviet Union."

There was apprehension on both sides of the Atlantic that Moscow would try to divide Nato by offering an attractive proposal to cut medium-range and strategic missiles tied to US cessation of Star Wars, he said.

"Some allies and certainly large elements of public opinion find themselves in the uncomfortable position of being less than fully supportive of the SDI, even at the research stage, because of the results to which it might lead," he said.

"A situation must not occur in which the Geneva talks would be seen by Western Europe to fall only because of the US refusal to limit SDI development."

In Moscow, the Soviet Defence Minister, Mr Sergei Sokolov, has told the US that its space weapons systems could end all possibilities of arms agreements and it must show more flexibility if progress is to be achieved.

"We want the United States to understand the Soviet stand at the Geneva negotiations and answer with reciprocity," Mr Sokolov said in a lengthy interview with Tass.

Mr Sokolov denied that the Soviet Union was working on space-based weapons, but said that continuing American efforts would force Moscow to develop its own programme and at the same time begin a new build-up of its strategic nuclear forces.

The Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, last night accused the US of "provoking the West of staking all on gaining military superiority and thus pushing the world 'to the brink of nuclear catastrophe'."

Speaking at a Moscow meeting of Second World War and labour veterans, Mr Gorbachev added that the Russians "do not consider war fatally inevitable." — Reuters/AP.

French agree to cooperate

PARIS: Two state-controlled companies have agreed to cooperate in research into President Reagan's space-based defence system, the newspaper, Le Monde, said yesterday.

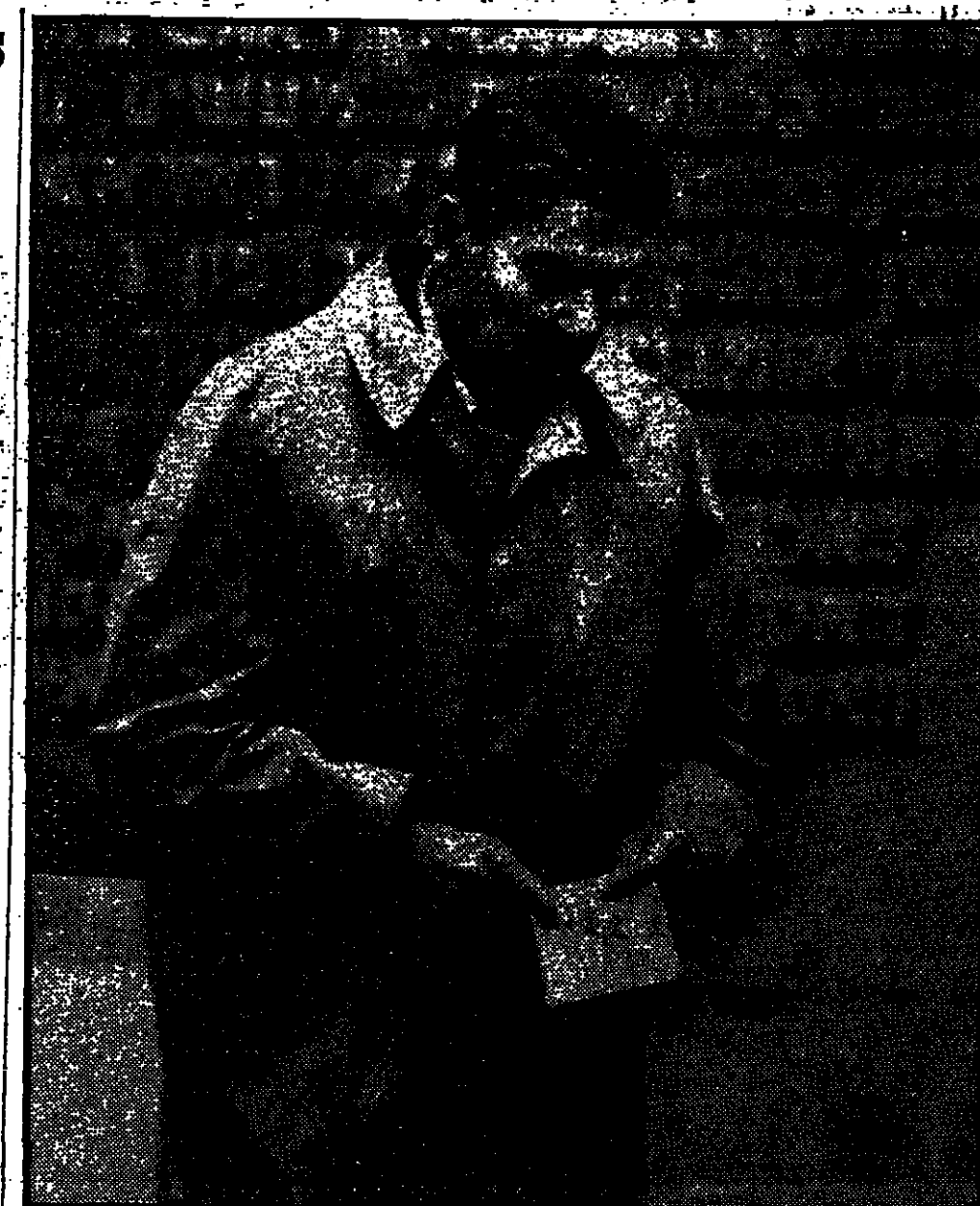
President Francois Mitterrand said on Saturday that France would play no part in the Star Wars programme, but Le Monde reported that the defence group, Thomson-CSF, and subsidiary of the Compagnie Generale d'Electricite had agreed to join the Strategic Defence Initiative project. — Reuters.

Rosary

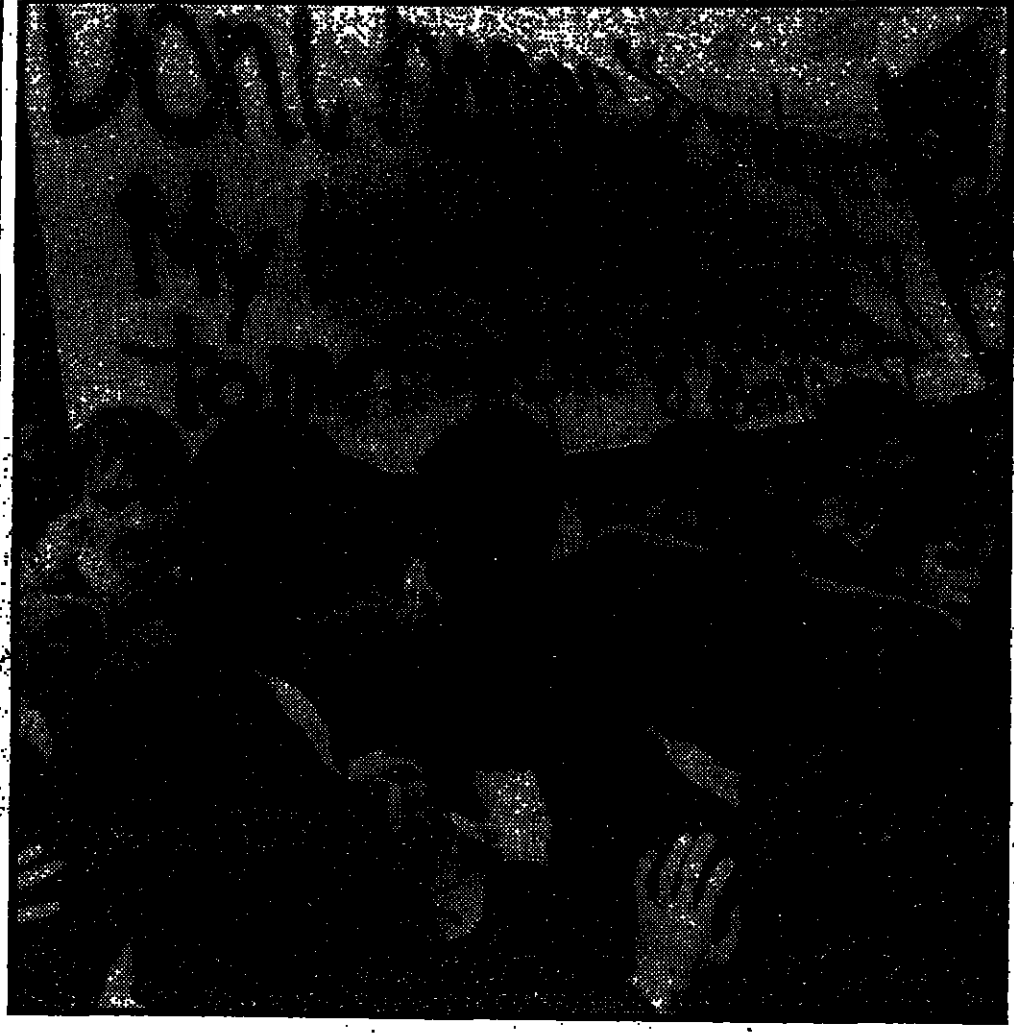
THE POPE led thousands of faithful in reciting the rosary on Saturday to "repair the damage inflicted" on the Virgin Mary by a French film, Hail, Mary, which portrays Mary as a cabaret girl and shows her nude. The ceremony was broadcast by Vatican Radio. — AP.

Plant opens

UNION CARBIDE's main US plant has resumed production of the chemical which killed 2,000 people in Bhopal, India, when gases leaked from a plant there last December. The plant in Institute, West Virginia, was shut down after the Bhopal disaster, and received \$5 million upgrade in safety systems to avoid "leaks" of methyl isocyanate. — Reuters.



President Reagan leaves the podium at Belsen in reflective mood yesterday while later at Bitburg police push back demonstrators from his motorcade route



President Reagan leaves the podium at Belsen in reflective mood yesterday while later at Bitburg police push back demonstrators from his motorcade route

Schlueter attacked in Danish ceremony

From Simon Tisdall in Copenhagen

The Prime Minister, Mr Poul Schluter, was pelted with eggs, tomatoes, and rotten fruit when the Liberation Day celebrations here on Saturday night turned into a demonstration against the Government.

Police estimated that about half of the 20,000 people who had assembled in Town Hall Square to mark the anniversary of the surrender of the German army of occupation 40 years ago took part in the protest against Mr Schluter.

The demonstration began when the Prime Minister took the platform, and was accompanied by loud jeers and the throwing of stink bombs. Some members of the crowd brandished posters saying "Go home Poul." Mr Schluter's words were drowned out and he was eventually forced to take shelter behind police riot shields.

Scuffles broke out between the demonstrators, who included squatters, peace campaigners, punks, and other members of the audience who had come to hear speeches by former ministers of the 1945 Liberation Government and by the Social Democrat Lord Mayor of Copenhagen.

The minority government of the conservative Prime Minister has fallen in popularity after strikes last month about the legally imposed public sector wage settlement and cuts in social services. Mr Schluter has fallen in popularity after strikes last month about the legally imposed public sector wage settlement and cuts in social services.

Mr Schluter said that Saturday night's demonstration shocked many Danes. Coming on such a auspicious day, it was a disgrace.

Tass also claims that Mr Reagan planned the cemetery visit to absolve the Bonn Government from responsibility for the deaths and destruction wrought by the Nazis and to show support for "revanchist" interests in reclaiming territory lost by West Germany during the Second World War.

Mr Reagan and Dr Helmut Kohl of West Germany visited Bitburg yesterday afternoon. Mr Reagan's visit "has sounded a terrible sacrilege to millions of people whose family members and compatriots fell in the battles, died under bombardment, were tortured to death in captivity, were executed and buried in incinerators and death-fires," to Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Yugoslavs, French, Belgians, Jews, Dutchmen, Danes, Norwegians, and a great many others," the Soviet veterans wrote.

Pravda said Mr Reagan's visit honoured "those who exterminated children, women and old men." In its commentary headlined "more than sacrifice," Pravda also accused Mr Reagan of making the trip to the cemetery in conspiracy with West German fascists seeking a return to a single German state.

"The true aims of the ceremony are obvious: not only to whitewash the monstrous crimes of the Hitlerites but also to support those who nowadays dream of changing the post-war borders in Europe," Pravda said.

While opening a Soviet museum dedicated to German opponents of the Nazis, Mr Honecker yesterday joined Mr Gorbachev in rejecting the idea of German reunification. — AP/Reuters.

Summit fails to bridge Gatt gap

Christopher Huhne and Derek Brown in Bonn assess the failure of European leaders to set a date for a new round of trade liberalisation talks.

Leaders of the world's seven biggest industrial democracies were yesterday assessing the damage done by their failure at the Bonn summit to agree on a date for a new round of trade liberalisation talks.

France's veto of the only firm proposal at the summit has embarrassed President Reagan as he continued a European tour already hurt by public relations disasters.

For the first time in the history of 11 world economic summits, the leaders were unable to paper over their differences on a key issue: the start of a new trade in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

The failure left the American delegation fuming at the French veto. President Reagan said he was "disappointed" that the summit failed to help stave off the growing pile of protectionist tariff and other bills in the US Congress.

A senior administration official said bitterly that Franco-American relations were sometimes better understood by psychologists than by diplomats.

President Francois Mitterrand was calm and unrepentant at his press conference. He said that he was busy looking after the interests of France "and I'm not responsible for defending each country against itself."

He also declared himself unwilling to take part in the US Star Wars research initiative and was critical of the US trade embargo on Nicaragua.

The prospect of the US Congress sparking a new trade war most worries the Japanese, whose exporters have done well in the American market thanks to the uncompetitive strength of the dollar.

The summit's economic communiqué states clearly that "most of us think that (a new Gatt round) should be in 1986." Even the Italians, who

Leader comment, page 10

until Saturday had backed the French stand, ended up supporting the Americans.

Most of the economic statements came straight on the "worst processor" used in the past, with general and vague commitments to reducing budget deficits "when excessive" and the share of public spending in national income where necessary.

The national leaders, representing a broad spectrum of political views, would have had little difficulty signing the statement.

The delegates noted that the world economy was better than it had been for a considerable time. Further progress had been made since the last meeting in bringing down inflation and strengthening the basis for growth.

In a new departure, the communiqué contained a summary of each leader's national priorities. President Reagan committed himself to "a rapid and appreciable cut in public expenditure and thus a substantial reduction in the budget deficit."

Britain, Germany, and Italy agreed to stand in solidarity with small and medium-sized businesses. France, Britain, and Italy promised to cut inflation, while Germany and Canada emphasised growth through "removing obstacles" to growth.

Japan pledged itself further to deregulate financial markets, make the yen more available, and encourage the growth of imports by more open markets.

On the key trade issue, the German hosts, the Americans, and the British, attempted publicly to make their own positions clear. Mr Helmut Kohl and Mr Nigel Lawson said that a Gatt round would go ahead next year after preparatory discussions among senior officials.

Mrs Thatcher stressed the continuing general commitment to more free trade. The dispute on timing was, she said, the only difference and reality is a very real difference.

Most of us still believe that there will be a new Gatt round in the first half of 1986.

The US Treasury Secretary, Mr James Baker, said: "We will keep pushing for it (the new trade round) in 1986. If we don't get a new Gatt round, we will simply sit down and negotiate with the countries that are ready to negotiate with us."

Despite the brave talk, the lack of agreement is a matter of real concern. The sense of urgency was reflected in the strenuous effort to break down French farmers and the EEC summit session.

President Mitterrand gave three main reasons for his refusal to urge an early start to the Gatt round. He said that the only sector adequately prepared for early talks was agriculture, and he wanted other areas to be prepared too.

Second, he wanted to give the other parties in Gatt — notably the Third World — a chance to express their views. "It is within Gatt that decisions should be taken," he said.

The third condition was that there should be parallel progress on monetary questions, such as exchange rates, which could make exporters uncompetitive within weeks.

The telecommunications Ministry said that, although the blockade does not officially start until May 7, 32 crates of equipment are already being held by the US customs. Without this equipment, the Ministry said, the telephone system will soon start to break down.

Torture victims testify in trial

From Jeremy Morgan in Buenos Aires

The victims of kidnapping and torture after the armed forces seized power in Argentina have begun to testify in the trial of nine top officers charged with "dirty war" against the population.

Called as witnesses in the public trial of former President Jorge Videla and other officers who held prominent positions in the regime, the ordinary and the famous have lifted the veil on the grim realities of life for anyone touched by the military's campaign of state terror in defence of "Western Christian values."

One woman, a physics teacher now in her late 30s, told how she was taken away after suddenly finding herself surrounded by 10 armed men. Mrs Adriana Calvo de Laborda, the last person to return from the lists of the missing, was lucky. She was six and a half months pregnant when she was kidnapped in 1977.

She was not tortured, she testified, but she was kept in the back of a police car taking her from one secret jail to another.

Other witnesses related how a nurse and a midwife at a hospital in Buenos Aires disappeared after informing the family of a missing woman she had been brought in by police to give premature birth to a baby girl.

A hospital director had decided the birth, but it was admitted by several doctors and apart from a reference to the birth which had been scratched out of the hospital register, there was no record of what happened to the baby. The mother was taken away afterwards and never seen again, they said.

Mr Ramon Miralles, the Economy Minister in Buenos Aires Province under the elected Peronist Government, overthrown in the 1976 coup, told how all his immediate family had been taken and sent in what seemed to be an attempt to find incriminating evidence on the former.

Mr Miralles said that he was stripped, handcuffed to a wire mesh, and doused with water while he was tortured with electrical probes in "even the most unimaginable places."

He said that while he was being held in a clandestine jail, he saw not only General Ramon Camps, then head of police in Buenos Aires Province and now being held on human rights charges, but also two well-known journalists kidnapped by the regime.

One was Mr Rafael Perrotta, the still missing editor of El Cronista Comercial, the business daily that suffered most under the regime and lost nine members of its journalistic staff. The other was Mr Jacobo Timerman, who followed Mr Miralles on to the witness stand.

Mr Timerman, who today edits La Razon newspaper, but in those days owned the left wing La Opinion and who wrote a best-selling book about his experiences before the regime released him under international pressure and expelled him from Argentina in 1979, also directed much of his testimony at General Camps.

Mr Timerman said that his mission in jail to bring a Jewish Zionist and Socialist prompted the "paranoid and Nazi" imagination of General Camps into thoughts of staging an "exemplary trial."

Before he was arrested, Mr Timerman added, the regime repeatedly complained about his newspaper publishing details of Habeas corpus writs filed on behalf of missing people.

Nicaragua counts cost

From Tony Jenkins in Managua

The Government warned of the effects of the US-imposed trade embargo on the economy and recalled its ambassador to the US for consultations.

The state-owned Energy Institute said that an order for \$18 million of spare parts in 1985 had been frozen. The equipment is needed to maintain the national electricity grid. Although the parts could probably be found in Europe, he said, delays that may lead to a partial shutdown of the industry and lengthy power cuts.

The main domestic pharmaceutical company, Solka, has already had to slow down production of a variety of medicines to fill an alternative supplier of raw materials can be found. Medicines are already in short supply in Nicaragua.

The director of the national petroleum agency, Mr Otto Schaffer, has said that the country's only oil refinery, run by Esso, may also soon be paralysed as spare parts come from America.

The Telecommunications Ministry said that, although the blockade does not officially start until May 7, 32 crates of equipment are already being held by the US customs. Without this equipment, the Ministry said, the telephone system will soon start to break down.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Farm talks to collapse

LUXEMBOURG: Talks on fixing European Community farm prices for the 1985-86 year look set to break up in failure today, the British Agriculture Minister, Mr Michael Jopling, said. The British minister, who has been taking part with other farm ministers of the 10-nation bloc in a final attempt to agree on price cuts, told reporters he expected the talks to collapse soon. "I'm off to pack my bags," he said. — Reuters.

New air service

BRITAIN and Singapore have agreed to start a new direct service between Manchester and Singapore. Singapore Airlines will operate up to three times a week on the new route, and Britain may fly three additional flights a week and may nominate more than one airline on the route, the Singapore aviation authorities announced. — Reuters.

Missionary shot

GUNMEN shot and killed an American missionary at his home in Lima's suburbs on Saturday night. Mr Thomas Brown was said to have been shot while trying to prevent the kidnapping of one of his children. — AP.

Ship seized

ANTWERP port authorities have seized a ship belonging to Greenpeace after a firm claimed \$42,000 damages for being prevented from dumping chemicals at sea. The vessel Sirius has been used to blockade a lock in Antwerp harbour, preventing the Waddi Tanker from sailing to dump its toxic load in the North Sea off Belgium. — Reuters.

Aid sought

BANGLADESH will seek \$1.6 billion in aid from 14 Western countries and five international agencies at talks in Paris this week. Dhaka's representatives will ask that less of the aid be tied, writes Amin Chowdhury.

Gold strike

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has discovered a deposit of gold worth about \$1 billion at current prices—the biggest find in Europe for 20 years—the official news agency said yesterday. — Reuters.

1550

Israelis count on computer defence

From Ian Black in Jerusalem

ISRAELI army engineers are digging a deep ditch along the international border with Lebanon as a barrier against suicide car bombers.

The ditch which is clearly visible inside Lebanon just past the Israeli border town of Metulla, is the most sophisticated part of a complex and highly sophisticated system of warning devices being installed along the frontier as the Israeli army withdraws its troops from the area.

The system is said to be costing \$80,000 a yard. In March, a Shiite Muslim suicide bomber blew up himself and his car in the middle of a convoy of Israeli army lorries carrying troops to the front. Thirteen Israelis died in the blast which was only yards from the border fence at Metulla.

According to Israeli press reports, which have to be approved by the military censor, the early warning system will be controlled by a central computer, and will include physical obstacles, electronic sensors, and powerful searchlights.

The condition of the existing border security fence has deteriorated in the three years since Israel invaded Lebanon.

The Cabinet voted at its weekly meeting here yesterday to allocate \$200 million to Israeli settlements along the northern border. Part of the money will be used for defences and air raid shelters, and part to encourage immigration to the area.

Further \$110 million was allocated to pay for the completion of the three-stage troop withdrawal.

When the Israeli pullback is completed by the beginning of next month, northern Israeli towns and villages will be in range of rocket and artillery fire from south Lebanon.

Two positions manned by the South Lebanese Army, the local, largely Christian force that Israel hopes will prevent guerrilla incursions after the pullback, came under attack yesterday. Israeli military sources said that SLA men were reluctant to patrol at night.

Setback for women in Egypt

From Kathryn Davies in Cairo

IN A VICTORY for Moslem conservatism, Egypt's Constitutional Court has declared invalid a six-year-old law which gave women some limited rights to divorce and maintenance.

The decision has come at a time of heated debate in the People's Assembly on a campaign by religious fundamentalists to turn Egypt into a fully-fledged Islamic state.

Under a 1980 constitutional amendment, Shari'a became the basis of all Egyptian law and President Mubarak has promised that the remaining laws will ultimately be changed.

The president, however, is believed to favour a gradual move from civil laws, which are based on French and British law, to Islamic law. Fundamentalists are demanding changes now.

On Saturday, the Constitutional Court declared that a 1979 law introduced by late president Anwar Sadat, allegedly at the behest of his wife, Jihan, in which a woman was given marginally improved rights to divorce and maintenance, was unlawful because it had never been passed by the People's Assembly.

All Egypt's personal status laws governing the country's Muslim majority are based on Shari'a. A wife can only divorce her husband for a limited list of matrimonial offences. But a husband can on the other hand, terminating a marriage at will, by repudiating his wife three times.

Under "Jihan's laws" a man was compelled to inform his wife that he had divorced her. Many Egyptian women only discover their husband's second family after his death. A woman was also given the right to petition for divorce if her husband took a second wife without her consent.

Simultaneously, there has been a fresh attempt by the Muslim members and their sympathisers in the People's Assembly to enforce strict Islamic laws on other issues, including the banning of alcohol, still illegal in Egypt, has several representatives in Parliament, most notably within the ranks of the Wafd party.

In Saturday's debate on a report by the Religious Affairs Committee, the government apparently defused the issue by blandly agreeing with the fundamentalist position, while judging the question of the timing.

Weekend violence leaves six

Eastern Cape blacks dead

South Africa troops seal off riot-hit township

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

At least 1,000 soldiers and police yesterday sealed off and occupied the black township of Kwa-Ndlovu in the Eastern Cape Province to quell rioting after three more blacks were killed in fresh unrest.

The operation began as a conflict between rival anti-apartheid organisations erupted in violence, leaving at least three other blacks dead, including two children, also in the Eastern Cape.

The operation came after arsonists attacked the homes of three policemen in Kwa-Ndlovu on Saturday. A 27-year-old man was later shot dead by police in the township.

The combined force manned roadblocks in their search for radicals attempting to "disrupt community" life by setting fire to and destroying schools, houses, and libraries. Helicopters flew over the township, distributing pamphlets urging residents to take a stand against arsonists and militants.

Unlike the first big operation by police and soldiers in the township in the Veldt Triangle last year, yesterday's task force, which included members of the railway police, did not make house-to-house searches.

The deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said that the operation was ordered in response to "numerous requests from law-abiding residents."

Mr. Vlok, who is tipped to succeed Mr. Louis le Grange as Minister of Law and Order, labelled the task force as one of "limited size."

Police announced yesterday that three blacks have died in township violence since Saturday.

day night. Two of the three died in Kwa-Ndlovu: an arsonist was shot dead by police and a 48-year-old man died from wounds inflicted by sharp instruments. The third man died in Tsakane on the East Rand.

Fighting between followers of the rival Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation has claimed the lives of three people, according to the Sowetan Mirror.

The fighting, which took place in the Eastern Cape, came after last week's stalled attempt by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, to organise peace talks between leaders of the two movements.

Two of the three victims were yesterday said to be the children of an Azapo member. The Eastern Cape, Mr. George Mayekiso. They are reported to have died after his house was petrol-bombed, allegedly by UDF followers.

Seven of the 16 members charged with treason arrived here at the weekend after being granted bail by the Maritzburg supreme court.

The 16 were originally refused bail by the Attorney-General of Natal under the Internal Security Act. But the Natal judge, Mr. Justice Milne, granted them bail under stringent conditions in a judgment on Friday.

Mr. Justice Milne criticised the clause in the Internal Security Act empowering the Attorney-General to refuse bail, saying that it impinged on the freedom of the courts. He called on the authorities to consider repealing it.

Some of the 16 have been in police custody in prison awaiting trial since August last year.

'Disaster threatens' despite recent rain

Nairobi: Rains have brought relief to some drought-stricken parts of Africa, but 700,000 metric tons of food are urgently needed to avert a major disaster in the worst-hit countries, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation warned today.

In its latest report for Africa, released here, the FAO said exceptional grain shortages are now faced in several of 21 countries unable to grow enough to meet the recently improved weather.

"Only concerted action in the coming weeks by the international community and the governments of the affected countries can avert a major disaster in the six most affected countries, namely Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Niger and Sudan," it said.

The total food aid required by Africa this marketing year has risen to 1,000,000 tons in the past month to seven million tons. As of late April, only 6.3 million tons had been pledged, and of this just 2.7 million tons delivered.

In southern Africa, all outstanding promises of grain must be delivered immediately, and supplies needed by the Sahelian countries of central Africa must receive their shipments before June rains make distant towns inaccessible.

Seed has been eaten in many areas to stave off starvation and the FAO predicted that even if weather is

favourable, food deficits will continue into 1986 unless the seeds are replaced. Urgent action is therefore needed not only to ensure human lives but also to ensure the normal planting of crops," the agency said.

Seed supplies are below the minimum requirements in Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger and Sudan, and are

SOME of the estimated 60,000 drought victims reported to have been forcibly removed from a camp in northern Ethiopia last week have returned, relief workers in Addis Ababa said yesterday.

The refugees, whose makeshift shelters at Innet were burned down after they left, had abandoned the long trek back to their former homes in the Wollo and Tegré regions. — Reuters.

needed within two months for the main 1985 planting. To speed up delivery of crucial food aid, special steps are needed to remove serious bottlenecks at African ports, it urged. The flow of supplies into Ethiopia is limited by snags at its Red Sea port of Assab, and congestion at several West African ports has exacerbated suffering for famine victims in landlocked Chad, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso. — AP.

Gandhi warns US that India may take up nuclear option

Pakistani bomb likely to head agenda in Washington

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, hinted strongly at the weekend that if the US did not stop Pakistan developing an atom bomb, India would have to take up its own nuclear option.

Addressing a conference of his Congress Party here on Saturday, the Prime Minister said that Pakistan was developing a nuclear weapon which would change the whole situation in south Asia. "We are not convinced that all powers which can do so are trying to stop them," he added. "We are looking into various aspects of this question to see what action we should take."

The Pakistani "bomb" is expected to be at the top of Mr. Gandhi's agenda when he meets President Reagan in Washington next month. He had earlier charged the US with indirectly helping Pakistan by excluding it from the application of the Symington Amendment, which bars America from giving aid to any country trying to make nuclear weapons.

The US is a main supplier

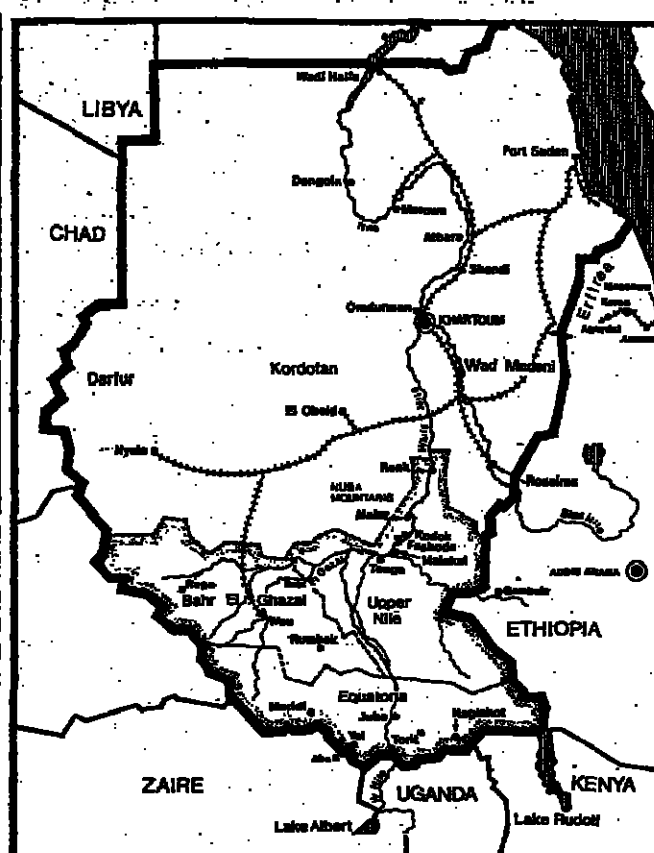
of sophisticated arms to Islamabad to meet a Soviet threat from its neighbour, Afghanistan.

Commentators here detected a new urgency in the Prime Minister's warning after President Zia ul-Haq's recent disclosure that Pakistan is approaching the manufacture of pure uranium. The breakthrough point in enrichment technology is put at 3 per cent.

Indian scientists dispute Pakistan claims to be working exclusively on civilian applications of nuclear technology. Pakistan, the Indians point out, has no nuclear power reactor in operation and has made no preparations for building one. It would take 20 years to build one from scratch.

Pakistan is ahead of India in enrichment technology, but India—unlike its Western neighbour—has already demonstrated a capability to make the bomb. Eleven years ago this month, it conducted an underground test, which was understood to be for peaceful purposes.

It is generally accepted that India has not followed up the explosion and manufactured nuclear weapons, but no one



A map shows the position of El Obeid camp in the Sudanese desert while victims of the famine queue for their rations.

Thousands shelter in a 'sand-blasted hell'

Jonathan Steele, recently in El Obeid, Sudan, visited a little known refugee camp.

ONE MIGHT as well start with the sand. On airless days when everyone huddles beneath their canopies of sackcloth and cardboard, and the temperature climbs to 45 degrees Celsius, the sand is the camp's red-hot floor. When the wind rises, as it often does, the sand becomes the camp's walls and ceiling too—a gushing, yellow cloud which blots out the horizon and permeates everything.

In this choking, dry hell, 47,000 people live, their water ration one litre a person per day. In four white tents with four beds each, the sick, the debilitated, and the dying wait feebly through the three-hour lunch break for the medical staff to return.

This is El Obeid Camp in the western Sudanese province of Kordofan. By comparison, the camps for Ethiopian refugees in the East, which have had most of the world's television attention, seem almost acceptable.

"It's not that the Sudanese authorities don't care," a foreign relief worker said. "But it's easier for a country to accept foreign refugees than keep its own displaced people in camps."

"The authorities deliberately don't want to make the camp attractive," another worker said, "but it doesn't become a magnet for too many people."

Recently, they closed the camp's register. Now the new arrivals who wander in every day to claim a piece of sand for a temporary home are told they do not qualify for rations.

Because El Obeid's people are internal refugees, feeling drought and famine in their scattered villages, they do not come under the wing of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees which only deals with international migrants. But the camp is the starkest single piece of evidence of Sudan's famine crisis.

In the number of victims and the extent of the problem, Sudan's emergency is approaching that of its suffering neighbour, Ethiopia. Every province of Africa's largest country is affected by drought. Five million people have lost crops and livestock, as the new ruler, General Abdel Rahman Swarredahab, said last month.

One and a half million people have been forced to leave their homes and migrate southward or to the cities to search for survival. One in six children according to a UNICEF estimate, face starvation.

Makeshift shacks sprout overnight on the edges of every town. Farmers have become nomads, travelling around in search of food. A smaller, sicker harvest this year is drawing four times as many would-be pickers as usual. They are looking for seasonal work which does not exist.

At El Obeid, the concentration of people is great enough to receive outside help, in spite of the UNICEF's estimate. The Islamic Red Crescent has provided tents. UNICEF supplies the bulk of the drugs,

and some free food comes from the United States Government.

But the authorities' on-again, off-again attitude about whether to continue with the camp has meant that no foreign organisation has been invited to make a major contribution.

Former President Ja'afar Numeiri closed Kordofan's other camp at Un Rawaiba last December, evicting 8,000 residents. He also carted off several thousand of the region's hungry villagers who had walked 200 miles to Omdurman, Khartoum's twin city on the west bank of the Nile. They were loaded into lorries and dumped back in Kordofan. At least the camp at El Obeid stayed open.

Now the new military government in Khartoum wants to close it. Major-General Mustafa Mohammed, the military governor of Kordofan province, said last week: "We're going to take people back to their villages after we're sure there is water. Those who have no water

an inducement to go," he said. "I don't know whether they will put the food in the trucks with the people, or tell them it's waiting at the end of the rainbow."

"The first fear of this government is to have a camp on their doorstep—in case of food riots," he added. A hundred miles to the east, in the town of Kosti, hungry people recently broke into a grain store and made off with 10,000 sacks before police dispersed them with teargas. This happened after Numeiri was overthrown.

Saeed Abu Kumbal, the Manchester University trained director of planning in the regional Ministry of Finance, argues that the choice facing the displaced people is unenviable, but in their place "I would probably agree to go south." The regional ministry of agriculture has worked out a plan to settle 2,800 families on 14,000 acres of virgin land in Ziling and Rashad, two areas of southern Kordofan.

In the camp, the long dispiriting



SWARREDAHAB

NUMEIRI

will go to new land in the south. We expect the first trucks will start next week."

Although General Mohammed claims that no one will be removed against their will, some local officials were aghast that the new government would do something which Numeiri had not dared. They fought a rear-guard action, apparently successfully, to ensure that there would be no fixed deadline for closing the camp entirely.

The military governor has conceded that those who do not want to go will be able to stay. But local aid workers believe that he will encourage the choice by offering free grain only to those who go. Rowland Roome is the El Obeid project manager for Care, the American voluntary agency which has been appointed by the US Agency for International Development to distribute its supplies of sorghum.

He says that the last American shipment of 60,000 bags for El Obeid has been held back by the army as a strategic reserve. "They will give the families the grain as

wait goes on for whatever will turn up. Outside a roughly-built lean-to, made of branches draped with sackcloth, Gasmal al Yusuf greets a visitor with a solemn handshake. Around him gather several children, their hair caked with sand. A crowd quickly forms to listen to the stilted conversation through an interpreter. Unlike the better publicised camps for Ethiopian refugees in the east, visitors here are a comparative rarity. Progress around the camp becomes a trailing procession of excited children, and desperate adults who assume that any outsider must be a doctor who ought to be able to give immediate assistance.

Gasmal al Yusuf used to own 13 acres, on which he grew groundnuts, sorghum, and millet, but three successive years of drought have destroyed everything. When he left the village to come to El Obeid camp, 300 other families had already gone. Only 10 to 15 people, the old and the disabled, were left behind.

His children do not get enough to eat, he says, but they are alive. Two

of his nephews died recently, one of measles, the other of diarrhoea.

A hundred yards away the procession reaches a series of better-looking tents. The homes of nomads, bigger, oblong in shape, and with sides made of black blankets instead of sackcloth. Inside there are solidly made wooden beds. Sitting on one of them, with a small boy holding her sleeve, is Hawa Hussein. She came from Sodiri, a 24-hour journey by lorry.

Her husband left last month for Omdurman to look for work. Two of her children, a seven-year-old daughter and a nine-month-old son, died of whooping cough last month.

Over and over again, similar stories recur: poor harvests, zero harvests; animals dead or sold at knock-down prices to buy highly priced grain to feed the family; then the long trek in search of food donated by strangers.

These are the lucky ones. American sorghum has been provided to the region, though only enough for three and half kg a person a month ("only a quarter of the amount needed," according to Rowland Roome of Care). In the camp people receive extra rations of onions and oil. About 5,000 malnourished children get supplementary feeding, a hot meal in the morning, and hot milk in the evening.

The food is ladled out in the tent where it is cooked, and mothers take it away—a system which has not been found adequate in Sudan's eastern camps.

Because many parents do not feed their children, when they are sick, supervised feeding centres are considered essential.

The El Obeid people are lucky in another way. On the edge of a town, the healthies have some chance of earning money to add to their slim rations of water and food.

Even so, the death rate at El Obeid has been high. A UNICEF study in March registered 185 deaths the previous month, but pointed out that many deaths are never recorded. To try to persuade people to register deaths, the camp offers a grim reward—a free shroud.

In the sandy wasteland beyond El Obeid in the west reaches of north Kordofan, conditions are worse. An Oxfam survey of remote villages found that on average 15 per cent of all children under five were "moderately or severely" malnourished.

In one village near Sodiri, according to local expatriate folklore, it was given this summer by the British in the last century because it is "so dry". Oxfam's researcher, Malcolm McLean, found that 12 children had died in the nine days before his visit, and others looked as if they would follow shortly.

They had all been returned with their families from the camp at Omdurman, when Numeiri trucked people out. It was a powerful reminder that moving people out of camps in a hurry is not always a real solution.

30 Tamils die in raid

From Roland Edirisinghe in Colombo


MORE THAN 30 Tamil guerrillas are believed to have been killed during an attack on Sri Lanka's naval base at Karainagar at the weekend.

The navy lost three men in the attack, while seven others were injured. Three of the injured were said to be in a critical condition 24 hours after the incident.

Karainagar is the main base of the Sri Lankan navy in the troubled northern Peninsula and is both heavily fortified and adequately manned. It also plays a vital role in the enforcement and maintenance by Sri Lanka of a "surveillance zone" in the narrow 22 mile Palk Strait, which separates the Jaffna Peninsula from southern India. The attack could therefore be construed as a prelude to an intrusion of men and arms to Sri Lanka's northern front from guerrilla bases in Tamil Nadu.

Official sources here believe that the attack was launched by the Eelam People's Liberation Front (EPRLF)—one of the five or six Tamil Nadu-based guerrilla groups, currently fighting for a separate state.

From all reports reaching Colombo, it appeared to have been well coordinated and professionally carried out.



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There she was with two children of her own and five steps, three of whom would be living with her. 'If I'd thought about it realistically, I never would have done it'



Polly Toynbee

HIDDEN inside the divorce and remarriage figures is the official guessimate that six million people now belong to step-families with children under 16. That is reckoned a conservative figure, with divorces currently running at one in three marriages.

Step-families are not a public problem, they are not like one parent families disadvantaged in any obvious way. The only public indication of what may lurk behind closed doors is the alarming fact that a high proportion of battered children and children in care come from step-families.

Divorcing parents may believe that grafting their children onto a new partner will be easy. Their children may seem so self-evidently lovable that it is hard to imagine that their new lover or spouse might not love them just as much. Indeed, their new spouse may hate them. The wicked step-parents of folk lore are based on deep and real agonies, perhaps — but sometimes very nearly.

One person who has learned to talk honestly about all this is Elizabeth

Hodder. She started a self-help organisation called Stepfamily two years ago and she has just published *The Step-Parents Handbook*.

She now reflects in relative tranquillity the early years of her second marriage — but she has to draw a deep breath and grit her teeth as she admits how she really felt.

When she left her first husband to marry her second, she brought her own two children with her. Her husband's last wife had died, leaving him with three children. He also had two children by his first wife. So there she was, with two of her own and five steps, three of whom would now be living with her. Not only was she introducing her children to a strange man and his three older children, but she was also taking on three new unknown children. "If I'd thought about it realistically, I never would have done it," she says, even though, in the end, it worked out reasonably well.

First of all there were her own children to worry about. "I was thought to be favouring my own. I suppose I did, though at the time I didn't know it. But of course you are going to love your own children best. It's no use pretending that's not so." She says her own children seemed quieter and more vulnerable in the face of her husband's older, more assertive and outspoken offspring. "You are not aware how someone else will perceive your children. Just when they are uncertain and unhappy and need more affection, your partner may see them as boring, snivelling brats. When you are a sentimental indulger at the performance in an appalling school nativity play, he may be cringing because he doesn't share the same insensitive affection for them."

She viewed his children with considerable alarm. "They were so forceful. They'd been brought up with



Elizabeth Hodder, meet with her step-grandson — pictures by Frank Martin

a completely different life-style and they were used to saying everything they felt. I've always been reticent. We weren't ones for talking about how babies are born, all that frank and open stuff some families go in for. I aimed to absorb them into one big happy family. I had absurdly high expectations of the kind of relationships we could all have — a story-book nuclear family. But 'step-families' aren't like that, and it doesn't help if you expect it and then feel you have failed.

At the time she knew no-

one else who was coping with step-children. "I had no confidence in myself. I felt a lot of jealousy about them. My step-daughter and I were particularly jealous of each other but, of course, at the time I never admitted it to myself. It was an awful thing to admit to. All the time I felt this gnawing gripe against them. I was obsessed with their behaviour, looking for ways to criticise them. You can't just summon up natural maternal feelings if you haven't got them. It is quite wrong to expect that of yourself."

Outsiders, she says, don't

know how to treat step-children. Doctors are often embarrassed and confused in dealing with a step-parent. "Recently," she says, "some doctors have also been telling me how often it is that when parents come to them with a problem about a child, the first revelation is that the child is a step-child, and may be an outsider in the family."

Elizabeth Hodder hopes that by talking loudly and often about the emotional tangles of step-family life she and her organisation will provide a salutary lesson to those still in a first marriage,

who may be contemplating breaking it up to form a second.

"People get so tied up in themselves when they are getting divorced and remarried that all too often they haven't the time or the energy to think seriously about how their children feel. They want the new marriage to work that they rush at it, and assume their children will share in their own new-found happiness."

There are those who criticise her efforts and say that she is, indirectly, encouraging people to get divorced.

But she says: "Divorce is here to stay. Nothing we or the government can do or say will turn back the clock."

She starts by saying firmly to people, "You can't change what you feel — but you can develop a capacity to cope. Once you acknowledge what you feel, then you won't make it worse by blaming the children on your partner. Don't set your sights too high in the first place. Don't expect to love each other, and then, perhaps, you can start to appreciate each other's best qualities. Try to develop enough self-esteem so that you do not easily take offence at the smallest implied criticism or lack of appreciation."

It felt better as I grew older. I was so young at the time, and I worried so much about what everyone else was thinking about me. I blamed myself for not being able to be that perfect mother-provider figure that all women feel they should be. I thought I should be able to take in these three strange children and make them all be happy, together with my own two. It's that old image of the good mother, laddling out soup and love to a table-full of beseeching kids.

She remembers those first Christmas with a particularly painful shudder. "What ever is going on in a family, it all comes out at Christmas. We all had different ideas of how it should be done. We all had our own rituals that we weren't going to give up. It was down to stockings versus pillowcases and different presents opening times. All those absurd things really matter to people." She knows one step-family that ended up decorating their tree in two halves, a style for each side of the family.

Now, looking back, she finds that not only is she very fond of her step-children, but they are also fond of her, and of her children. Somehow or

other, it worked, and she believes that in most cases it can, but people need someone to turn to.

In only two years, her Stepfamily organisation has proved remarkably successful. There are 30 help lines all around the country. Letters pour in, most of them from anxious step-parents and also from children. All this is run by a few people on a shoestring, with headquarters in her back bedroom. They are in urgent need of money to cope with demands for help and advice. She also has a full-time job as an area organiser of Citizens' Advice Bureau.

"Step-parents are seen as universally wicked, in every culture since the beginning of time," Elizabeth Hodder says. "It may be very difficult at times to see it, but in the end there can be a positive side to step-family life — more relations later on — more grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, cousins. Diversity and a multiplicity of relationships can do good, not harm, a breath of air compared with small over-intense families."

But that, she admits, is a wisdom it takes time to acquire, and children may only appreciate it later on. Meanwhile, there are more immediate problems. The most serious concern is the incest and incest both of which she has come across in the two short years of Stepfamily's existence.

The Step-Parents Handbook by Elizabeth Hodder. Sphere £2.95.

Stepfamily — *The National Stepfamily Association, Maris House, Maris Lane, Trumpington, Cambridge.*

Polly Toynbee would like to hear the experiences of step-parents and step-children for a future article — all names and addresses in confidence.

Ruth Wishart reports from Aberdeen, where doctors operate a system which does not allow anyone to slip through the cervical smear test net

'80 per cent,' mused the doctor, 'when are you going to chase up the missing 20?'

HE CALLED it "The Fifth Freedom". Reminding readers of the British Medical Journal that Franklin Roosevelt had once demanded freedom of speech and worship, freedom from want and fear, Sir Dugald Baird added his own postscript: "That women should be free from the tyranny of excessive fertility."

He retired from the chair of obstetrics in his adopted home of Aberdeen 20 years ago, but evidence of his great legacy to that northern city bears contemporary witness to his remarkable commitment to female health care.

For Aberdeen emerged during the recent controversy on the recall of women with positive or suspicious cervical smears as the one city which consistently operated a fine mesh safety net. Whilst the onus may be on the patient in many parts of Britain, the relevant department in Aberdeen just keeps on looking for women with worrying results until they locate them.

The doctor who makes sure of that is Betty Macgregor. She was appointed by Baird 25 years ago to instigate a screening service. In fact Betty Macgregor had gone to Aberdeen with her husband but over dinner the professor assured Baird that he had her too. And somewhere around the pudding course she found that whatever her own plans might have been Dugald Baird had her hooked.

She grins from under bushy eyebrows at the memory. "Of course he was angry at the wholly unnecessary fatalities of women who were often quite young with families."

Since there was a captive audience in the hospital itself she began with them in 1960. "Everyone booted with laughter at the notion of women coming in for a tonsillectomy and going home with a smear test. But the women were just happy to comply. I had a torch; the lady with the lamp wasn't in it, I tell you."

A year later she delegated that task to a colleague and extended the service to the simulation of a large, simple expedient of offering a personal smear service in doctor's surgeries.

Soon Betty Macgregor assured Baird that she had reached 80 per cent of the population in his catchment area. "Eighty per cent," mused the great man. "And when are you going to chase up the missing 20?"

Nearing retirement, Betty Macgregor prepares to leave knowing not just her unit will survive but the methodology too and that any woman can walk into two centres in the city and have a smear test whenever they wish. These centres send their findings to a data bank — part of a medical success story of consistently low rates of mortality among mothers and babies in the area.

Dr Marion Hall, a senior obstetrician in the maternity hospital, considers that this centralised record-keeping married to the homogeneous

nature of the local population affords her unrivalled research opportunities.

"We have processed material here on every birth in the region since 1948," she says. "We have women in our labour wards now whose records began with their own birth. It gives us the ability instantly to check up on genetic factors leaving us free to do something positive about the environmental ones. Then again it's a very long-standing tradition in Aberdeen that you will always co-operate in other colleagues' research. I think that's something quite common in Scottish academics, communities where the professor is expected to lead the team in fields like research. Sometimes I think that in London a professor's success is not gauged by that kind of thing at all but by how much money he makes."

Sir Dugald Baird, a lifelong Socialist, was never hesitant to lead the league of medicine's high earners. Shocked in the thirties by housing conditions he finally determined to give up private practice.

Dr Barbara Thompson, a social scientist who worked on research with Baird and his successor, John McGillivray, remembers clearly that decision being taken. "He could see that the women in his private clinics were really healthy but demanding a lot of attention that wasn't necessary either medically or obstetrically, and he thought he could contribute much more by concentrating on the high risk women who needed his care, and his research work."

The teaching was always the belief that women should have the number of children that they wanted in the optimum medical and social conditions.

And Dr Thompson became part of some radical changes in obstetric and gynaecological practice. "What he pioneered in those early days was the introduction of other disciplines into his department. And there were a lot of raised eyebrows in the late Forties and early Fifties when obstetrics began to include nutritionists and

social workers, sociologists, statisticians, and psychologists."

Barbara Thompson moved over to a new unit established by the Medical Research Council (now about to move to Glasgow) and continued her research work there in every imaginable field including abortion. It was the latter which brought Dugald into one of many sharp conflicts with the medical establishment.

Says Dr Thompson: "He had the courage to offer abortion and sterilisation to high priority women before anyone else in Britain thought about it. And that's why Aberdeen became important when the Abortion Act was being drafted because we could offer the benefit of first-hand experience and knowledge and follow-up research."

The obstetrics department has now restructured its services to offer a high level of care and knowledge and follow-up research.

for examinations being conducted merely to conform to long-standing practice once subscribed to by a medical ecological stone. "Sometimes patients do whatever doctors ask of them without questioning it," says Dr Marion Hall. "I think debate and democracy should be encouraged."

That philosophy is echoed by a thriving network of health visitors who consider it a priority to respond to patient demands rather than expect passive acceptance of their ministrations.

It would be idle to pretend that Aberdeen is the British medical Utopia, since Aberdeen has its own tales to tell of professional rivalries, misunderstandings, and differing priorities. When a Wellman cancer centre recently established within the family planning building for instance, some male GPs argued that this was a squandering of ever more scarce resources on services already available in their surgeries.

But Isabel Noble, the senior health worker

involved, insists that her experience of the first six months shows that the women are presented with the kind of anxieties with which they hadn't felt able to "trouble the doctor." The initial analysis shows the three most common concerns to be weight gain, menopausal symptoms, and pre-menstrual tension, areas in which female concerns are often undervalued by men operating busy surgeries.

The Family Planning Service itself has the confidence appropriate to a 50-year-old pedigree and is keen to supply and counsel the young and unmarried as Mrs Victoria Gillick's ruling has no legal status in Scotland.

In some respects though the city has come to a natural punctuation mark since both Betty Macgregor and Barbara Thompson are due to retire, severing the last remaining link to the city's medical era. Yet the widely integrated health care now has the kind of momentum it would be difficult to stop.



Vanity Fair

THERE ARE those among the enormously rich who have come to realise that when one's life is crammed to bursting with material delights, the spirit still demands attention and that is why the owners of Biscuitola Limited have become our benefactors and shall bring a Superstore to Urbleton.

Biscuitola will build an immense but aesthetic Shed covering 67,000 square feet, ten times bigger than your average supermarket, bang in the middle of Urbleton High Street, so that the lives of the common people shall be made easier and their food cheaper. It's something to do with making profits. Biscuitola Limited don't need to make money any more, they only need to make happiness. They are the new philanthropists, come just in time to replace the Welfare State.

Like a Knight Errant, Biscuitola travels the country, searching here and there, finding a monster site, and plonk, depositing another chunk of benevolence.

Naturally, there is competition between the mega-companies to be the greatest benefactors, dedicated to the poor, bringing bargains to the needy and as the poor congregate in town and the country is saturated with superstores already, they all wanted to be the first to get one into an Inner City Borough and Biscuitola has Done It.

There are however, always those who will balk at change, at the centralisation of shopping to the detriment of the earlies and treasurers of the generation of 4,000 more car journeys a day. Urbleton High Street being clogged solid with traffic as it is, and at the demise of small local shops, where old ladies could potter around with quater-basins and chatter to the cashier. But this is all nothing, compared to cheaper biscuits. There are those who'd say that cheap biscuits are available in super-markets, but that rather spoils Biscuitola's

mega-style altruism, and anyway. Our Council have given them the go-ahead. Biscuitola tempted them by promising 350 jobs, space for housing, entrances for the disabled, everything to make a Socialist Borough happy.

There were 600 jobs in the bakery that used to be there, but the Council wouldn't really quibble about anything. They didn't have much choice. They'd already said No to Biscuitola's first rather handsome application, and if they refused this second more tasty offer, why, Biscuitola would just appeal to Secretary of State, World Planner, Lord of All Boroughs, and he'd give permission.

Of course Secretary doesn't always say Yes, only 80 per cent of the time. But if Biscuitola are in the habit of giving Our Government a quarter of a million pounds now and again, then he is likely to bless them. In fact, out in Ruralia He's just granted permission for a Superstore that his own Inspectors advised Him to turn down, because even his Inspectors can make mistakes.

So Our Council thought they ought to try and squeeze the best they could out of Biscuitola themselves, for fear of Secretary allowing something worse to Biscuitola. Spendways and Frithermart are longing to match Biscuitola's achievements, and there are found two more immense sites, only minutes away from Biscuitola's Shed, and can hardly wait to buy them. That'll make three Superstores in one High Street.

So, as the Man from Biscuitola said, it's what the People want. He can tell from "retailing experience" and if the People wish for a world of vast stumps in which to shop, then they shall have it. Not Biscuitola. Benefactors don't do that.

Michele Hanson

The shape for things to come

Martin Pawley finds two Britons are the only earthbound architects yet to rate with NASA

NO ONE knows much about the arrangements for the USSR. But for architects to get work designing space stations for NASA is about as difficult as designing an extension for the National Gallery that everyone will approve of.

McDonnell Douglas, one of eight major contractors working on the permanent orbiting space station promised in President Reagan's state of the union speech in January 1984, is employing about 500 people on the project. Only one has an architectural background. No one in the entire NASA empire is employed as an outer space architect, but the director of the NASA Ames Research Center in San Francisco gets a phone call a day from architects or architectural students hoping to work on the final frontier.

In fact, though, one of the few design firms contracted by NASA is an Anglo-American architectural practice, with offices in London and Santa Monica. Future Systems Consultants was formed in 1979 with two partners: Jan Kaplicky, who teaches at the Architectural Association and practices in London, and David Nixon, who was born in Bradford but now runs the California end of the operation, working in Los Angeles and teaching at the Southern California Institute of Architecture, a kind of West Coast version of the AA. The two met in London when each was working with a high-tech

master: Kaplicky with Norman Foster, and Nixon with Renzo Piano, and Richard Rogers, who collaborated on the Pompidou Centre in Paris.

FSC works like a pen-pal practice, exchanging ideas by post and telephone and occasional visits and entering as many competitions as will square with an uncompromising futurism. Together Kaplicky and Nixon won first prize in the 1979 Melbourne Landmark competition, with engineering help from Frank Newby, and their growing portfolio of projects has been exhibited in London, Paris and Los Angeles. As often with innovators, actual contracts have been few.

They made their way into the NASA empire through a small-business programme sponsored by the US government and intended to ensure that not all the space programme fell into the hands of major aerospace contractors. Spin-off from the American space effort is supposed to feed into the economy as a whole.

Kaplicky and Nixon submitted a proposal for fold-out platform structure designed to collapse into the cargo bay of the Space Shuttle and to deploy as a large, rigid space frame for mounting orbiting experiments of all

kinds. This project, based on nesting structural elements in graphite/epoxy composite plastics, was a competitive submission.

Earlier this year another small business proposal followed, this time for a "high adaptability" interior design concept for the crew quarters of the \$8 billion permanent space station that is intended to reach specification stage by 1987. Kaplicky and Nixon's ideas for the interiors of the sleeping compartments for the crew of between six and ten, and the communal washroom area, were so well received that they have just been awarded a design research contract for the washroom and galley of the space station, a multifunctional space that fits into a cylinder measuring only 4.4 metres in diameter and 10.5 metres long.

This project has brought them face to face for the first time with the head-spinning problems of designing for zero-gravity. The 1982 permanent space station is not like those envisaged a decade ago, with gravity created by slow rotation. When NASA

scientists actually sat down to plan the earthbound satellite they found it would need a half-mile radius to provide gravity without fast rotation—quite beyond current shuttle payload feasibility.

Designing an interior for a tube with no gravity-imposed top or bottom or sides is a concept almost as difficult to describe as to carry out. Kaplicky and Nixon have made a special study of space literature, but even they still marvel at the possibilities. Because you can swim through the tiny rooms of the station," says Kaplicky, "the kind of claustrophobia you would expect does not occur. Skylab astronauts, who stayed up for 30 days in the 1970s, compared it to living in a Volkswagen Beetle but it is not really that bad because the entire volume is available to you. What is missing is orientation."

Current NASA thinking is to provide a floor by means of straps like those on a windsurfer. There is even

something called an "aerodynamic deck" that may consist of a fine metal mesh with a current of air drawn downwards through it to keep paper or other objects in place.

"Back in the Skylab days," says Nixon, "they used velcro for everything. They even stuck velcro patches to the backs of spoons and forks, pens, pads, everything that would float around so that it would stick to the sheets of velcro stuck all over the walls."

Ventilation is interesting too. It becomes a way of studying things because all loose objects end up on the extract ducts. The problem of the space toilet too was accurately described in Stanley Kubrick's 2001. According to Nixon it has still not been solved despite the expenditure of over \$10 million, and he offers a graphic description of the problems of exercising and keeping clean in zero gravity.

Then there's the washroom and galley project. "What does it really mean to cook an omelette in zero-gravity. In space we shall confront the problem of scientifically preparing food for the first time. The crew are chiefly concerned with 'crew personalisation' which means the

maintenance of individual identity in tiny crowded spaces for up to 90 days at a time. They are thinking of something along the lines of a transparent kitchen with individualised decor fabric inside. But they are also thinking, or rethinking, everyday objects in extra-terrestrial terms. If you stand say way up, you should perhaps have a three-dimensional table. The whole concept of the tiny washroom conjures up a submarine open to the public on Navy Days, but if you imagine that rotating, even The Enemy Below becomes impossible—as a paradigm.

Kaplicky and Nixon are adamant that a whole new concept of design is necessary for zero gravity. Yet the Soviets, who have carried out much longer orbital missions than the Americans, make do without. "Just as they do in their tanks," says Kaplicky.

Both men, now they have a foothold in space design, are anxious not to be misquoted or made an embarrassment to the mighty NASA programme. "Please, whatever you do, quote this as it is written," said the note Nixon taped upon me just before setting back to California.

The message read: "FSC are planning to set up a multi-disciplinary team to explore designs for a lunar base using an idea they have developed for lightweight superstructure which supports lunar sea-shielding for protection against micro-meteoroid impact and solar flare radiation."

Nancy Banks-Smith joins Peasod and Bonington in plimsoils and wet weather

Hell and the rock of ages

ROCK climbing seems to be a love affair laced with heartbreak and carrying cries of "Bloody hell fire!"

Bill Peasod, a magnificent name, fell in love with Buttermere one spring morning. "It was one of those incredibly beautiful early mornings. I'd been working in the pit all night and I was cycling home and the light was just coming on the fells. I bathed in the tin tub in front of the fire but I couldn't go to bed. The morning was still calling me."

"So I cycled out and it was just a lovely, early summer morning. Everything was beautifully soft and quiet. You could hear the horses moving in the farmyards and the farmers calling to their dogs. I was overwhelmed. The contrast between this bloody, godforsaken, derelict existence in the pit and coming up into the sunshine was just unbelievable. From that instant my life's course was set."

He and Chris Bonington were trudging up the flanks of Eagle Crag, through the bracken at its foot to the shaly scurl on its shoulder. They seemed to be quite alone in the world. Vision and sound followed with the fidelity of a sheepdog.

Forty years, one month and five days before (as Peasod remembers precisely) wearing Woolworth plimsoils, pared at the sides to give a closer grip on the rock, he was the first man to climb Eagle Front. Chris Bonington has tried it with modern equipment and failed. In Lakeland Rock (C4).



Bonington... Man of steel which will reconstruct five classic climbs, they were tackling it together in plimsoils and wet weather.

I wouldn't mind the Lake District if it weren't for the water. Any eagle on Eagle Crag that day would have felt more at home with webbed feet. In Bill Peasod's graphic phrase, which gave the film its title, it was like "Climbing with mackintosh on your feet." He began that slow, steady, comfortable cursing which comes from a life spent hanging by your fingertips from rock faces.

"Bloody hell fire," said the mackintosh shearer. "Everywhere is wet as hell. Chris, wet as hell. Oh, bloody hell, we're among the

crad again." By now he has shed the historic gymshoes ("To hell with this business of purism"), tried and discarded socks ("My missus'll go mad"), and was climbing in dashing scarlet socks over modern rubber boots. He demonstrated, however, the traditional leg-up method by standing on Bonington's shoulder which drew howls of pain from that man of steel. "Ow! Oh bloody hell, Bill!"

Taking a breather they stopped and looked at the little eye of the lake in its great socket of stone. After the war Peasod emigrated to Australia. "But leaving this was leaving behind a part of my life. There was a bloody great void when I got to Australia. That was why I took up painting, to try to say something about landscape. When my wife and I came back it was a day and a night and she looked at the clouds hanging over the mountain tops and she said 'You haven't been painting Australia. This is... what you've been painting.'"

Then — because it was there — I switched to the European Song Contest (BBC1) and do not altogether regret it because, in my mind's eye, the climb never ended. Throughout that three-hour tarradiddle, I seemed to see him climbing that mineshaft in the sky and swearing steadily and loving it constantly. And see him still.

This year's Eurovision Song Contest was remarkable as The Year of the Kid. Austria hit us with Children of the World. "Let's lend a helping hand. Let's give these kids a chance!" and the entire population of Luxembourg, six people, turned up to sing Children, Kinder, Enfants.

Neither came within a mile of Denmark who—a notable first—actually fielded their own kid. Hot Eyes (though surely, one feels, this should have read Hot Ice) had the kid who stole the clothes interrupted their perky ditty and got generally underfoot. The Swedish producer, no child lover one fears, kept his camera on the talented child as much as was humanly possible.

Terry Wogan, however, commenting from his bed of pain, was much revived by the sight—"I wonder if I can find it for her"—and his cure was completed by the sight of Tyrone Power's kid, Romina, now some ten feet tall and looking like a leopard in lame.

The stage was strewn with bisected balls which may have been Swedish decor or monitors in case the singers forgot their words, though these were in no case demanding. Piano, piano for Switzerland. Ole Ole for Israel and Bra Vibrator for Sweden. And who could forget that?

Liv, laughter and love

Liv Ullman makes only one film or stage appearance a year. In 1985 it's stage — and in London. Waldemar Januszczak went to meet her.

THERE are two Liv Ullmans. Both are unmistakably Norwegian. The first is wide-eyed and ghostly. She wears long white dresses that hide her feet, and inhabits films directed by Ingmar Bergman, floating in and out of gloomy, turn-of-the-century interiors without ever quite touching the carpet.

The second, and real, Liv Ullman opens the door of a sunlit, rococo dressing room at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, and smiles beautifully. She has legs all right, long and shapely ones which on the stage tonight she will cross and uncross provocatively, fully aware of their effect on another woman's husband. This Liv Ullman has twinkling blue eyes and huge soft pink lips. Oh those lips. You could make a settee out of them.

Liv Ullman laughs, an honest, hearty laugh when I quote her a few lines from Peter Cowie's biography of Ingmar Bergman. "For certain men she has become a Mutter Erde figure, hers is the bosom on which to lay one's head and shed one's woes."

Does she mind being thought of as some kind of Norwegian Virgin Mary? Yes, she minds a little, because she isn't really a mother. But then she's even less like the consumptive, neurotic Bergmanesque victim. And of course she understands the importance of fantasy in people's lives. "It takes fantasy to be depressed. It takes fantasy to be happy too."

Liv Ullman is happy. You can see it in her eyes and smile it in the flowers which grow in her dressing room. You can read about it in Choices, her second fragment of autobiography published by Weidenfeld & Nicholson in February. Above all you can sense it on the stage in the contrast between the past and the play she is currently to be found in, Harold Pinter's Old Times, a tense and nervous portrait of a marriage threatened by the arrival of a face from the past. Film does strange things to people's identities. In Liv Ullman's case it has completely ignored the healthy corporeality which is such a feature of her presence on stage. In Old Times she projects so much inner composure that she sweeps like a snow-plough through the neurotic debris of Pinter's earlier films, the fragmented conversations, the blank stares.

"I think I'm a very happy person. I think I'm very out-



Liv Ullman: "It takes fantasy to be happy."

going. And I find very little connection between me and the parts I have been doing. I would love to be in a play that only gave pleasure. That only gave warmth. That didn't scare people. That didn't confuse them."

Lean and tanned, Liv Ullman is now in her mid-forties and well into the third major phase of her career. The first was spent largely on the side of Bergman as both actress and lover. The second saw her departure for Hollywood and a very mixed batch of films that saw her trying to break out of the Bergman mould. Does anybody out there remember Lost Horizon? ("It was fun. I was 30 years old. And from Norway. I would have been a fool not to go.")

But the third decade has inspired the most changes. It has included some enormous successes on Broadway and seen her emergence as a writer. "I am filled with fairy stories," she trills in Choices. "With trolls and elves and gnomes and legends. The fantasy of child-

hood stories invades my reality with passion." She sang in the last Richard Rodgers musical and, in her farewell Broadway, sweated noticeably in a chaotic production of Ibsen's Ghosts.

In 1980 she was appointed a UNICEF Ambassador of Goodwill and has since toured the corners of the Third World spreading that wholesome affection with which she glows like a teenager in a Shreddies advertisement. Since she began her UNICEF work she has confirmed her film and stage appearances to one a year. We are very lucky to have tempted her to the Theatre Royal with our Pinter.

Knowing she would meet him was part of the challenge. She sees him as a magical writer, someone who has created his own secret landscape. "It's the imagery. It's the things that are not said in the pauses. If you hear people having a party conversation, it's just one long drawn-out silence with words on top. The play is like that. The rhythms and

the pauses make their own comment on what you've just said. The play has its own motor, so it carries you through. We go on the train. And the train is Pinter."

In Old Times the Pinter train takes us down to the South Coast, to a house by the sea where we are treated to the grim spectacle of three people trying to squeeze themselves into a relationship made for two. Anna is the intruder, a woman so desperate to reclaim her youth that she is prepared to stir doubt and jealousy into her friends' twenty-year marriage.

"I see her as very evil. But probably she doesn't come out as bad as I thought. I'm probably defending her without really knowing. I thought I was really doing terrible things. Evil smiles and all that. And here I hear I was projecting warmth."

Those huge, pink lips open up, and out comes a laugh that makes mincemeat of an awkward, Pinteresque silence.

Alex Hamilton reviews the latest paperbacks

Marriage of true minds

LEFT TO her own devices in Venice by her famous husband, the artist critic John Ruskin, who all his life will remain more interested in stones than people, his child bride Effie, still a virgin after some years of marriage, goes regularly to work at the opera. She only admits Italian admirers when John is there, but on the rare occasion that he goes with her he writes a chapter on characterised stones like Donatello's performance. This was actually a happy period before she modelled for John's friend and protégé, Millais, and the train of events, which led to the annulment, and get down Memory Lane (which appears to be circular), as we pound the old Joanna, roll out the barrel, and let the world know we're gonna get it up when the lights go on again in London.

The River War by Winston S. Churchill (1899, NEL £2.75). The river was the Nile, and the war in the Sudan included the immolation of Gordon and the eventual defeat of the Mahdi at Omdurman, a battle in which Churchill himself took part. The rich and sonorous delivery is there right from the beginning; his prose swells like a cobra's hood at the prospect of an engagement—wonderful stuff, if you can follow him in connecting each sidishow to the main issue.

The Exercise Myth by Dr Henry Solomon (1984, Angus and Robertson £2.95). The book that every Fatguts, every bolting hutch of beastliness, has been waiting for, the one by a cardiologist with a doctorate and a clinic that says that the only reward for all those people grunting about in track suits will get from their efforts is a good appetite. Dr Solomon says this is an anti-exercise book, but he evidently feels you must be very fit before indulging.

Weight Watchers 365-Day Menu Cookbook with recipe cards by the founder, Jean Nidetch (1983, NEL £1.95). The shrinking man's panoramic gourmet spread, including unbelievably daring treats like a cold, a quarter of a pound of butter, and a combination of macaroni and cheese with peanut sauce, and breakfasts that will not cause you to be late for work like three quarters of an ounce of cereal with four ounces of fruit cocktail.

The Last Great Race by Eric Newby (1986, Granada £2.50). For all the Newby's travel books have been paperbacks recently, the solid middle on the Apennines, Hindu Kush, Ganges and a Life by Pico, and the last of the ride on the Great Red Train by Penguin, but Granada have hung on to the best, with its high spirits, from a novel before the excitement of its story, when he bound himself apprentice seaman at 18 in 1938 on a four-master barque running to Australia.

Some are known as poets—Gavin Ewart, Vernon Scannell, Roy Campbell, Sidney Keyes and Keith Douglas etc. Some as novelists and critics, like Lawrence Durrell

and G.S. Fraser and Jocelyn Brooke. Some for occupations that look contrary to poetry, like Quentin Hogg and Enoch Powell. But most are men who would otherwise have no memorial, and here and there among these are several which, sad to say, are not just plain irreverent, give you a pungent whiff of what it might have been like.

World War II Songs edited by Michael Leitch, with 180 Pictures-Posters sort of photos of the Home Front (1985, Omnibus £8.95). Time once again to tip the coconut shell and bird crumbs out of Tommy's tin, get up on the status, and get down Memory Lane (which appears to be circular), as we pound the old Joanna, roll out the barrel, and let the world know we're gonna get it up when the lights go on again in London.

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BRIGHTON
Tom Sutcliffe

Benvenuto Cellini

IT'S NOT just the Roman market that makes Benvenuto Cellini do nicely for the Brighton Festival's theme this year: clowns and the commedia dell'arte. There's a touch of the clown in the way Cellini's originality as a composer blithely and disproportionately redraws the conventions creating a typical sense of anxiety behind abandoned, almost clumsy rhythmic energy.

The inventiveness is simple enough. The story and the music furnishing it seem contrived rather than organic. But festival director Gavin Henderson's decision to mount the show at the Brighton Pavilion, a

work into some kind of celebratory whole. Both the large open stage and the gangways of the auditorium were flooded frequently with crowds of masked revellers. It was an event.

A producer of more daring than Peter Ebert would not just have stirred all the ingredients in and stood back satisfied. Here the bustle and excitement swamped the real story of the competition between the two sculptors, Cellini and Fieramosca, for the daughter of the Pope's treasurer, Glaciarlo Gemin's unattractive designs at the behest of the stage and the use of the wide open space never achieved a satisfactory focus, and the plot seemed incidental to all the extracurricular goings-on.

One problem was the tendency of the conductor, Bryan Balkwill, perhaps reckoning to help Arthur Jacobs's mate translation come across, to take all the speedy music too gingerly. Jacobs has a penchant for translating abuse with an angry reference. He has people say "immovable things like 'You rabbit' or 'You ancient donkey.' The balance of the

orchestra form the National Centre for Orchestral Studies was always strange, brass forward, strings buzzing and underpowered.

With stronger singing, one might not have minded all the naïf games played by the masked commedia dell'arte figures, and the awkward staging of crucial scenes. The women at least were vibrant and exciting. Louise Kennedy making much of her chances as Teresa, and Anne Mason's Ascanio sounding like a good deal more alluring than Jane Berbie does on the Colin Davis recording. Their prayer duet was the musical peak of the performance.

David Johnston seemed rather a faded roue as Cellini, but sang with authority and musicality. If not with the right sort of French tenor timbre, John Hancock was a dashing and persuasive Fieramosca, though not very credible when he said: "I'm killing myself with rage." Dennis Wicks was an adequately commanding Pope Clement.

It was a mistake, however, not to find a more imposing Balducci than Andrew

Gallagher — and the supporting parts and the New Sussex Opera chorus were simply not up to the demands and opportunities of Benvenuto's score.

COVENT GARDEN

Mary Clarke

Swan Lake

THE SADLER'S Wells Royal Ballet season at Covent Garden is a short one and has to concentrate, perforce, on showing to London, in a worthy setting, the spectacular classic productions in the repertoire which can never be crammed on to the restricted space of the Sadler's Wells stage.

The Sleeping Beauty and Swan Lake dominate the season to the joy, no doubt, of the box office, and they provide illuminating evidence not only of the still and intelligence of Peter Wright's direction of the company but also of the way in which he has to deploy

his still limited resources of personnel.

The Sleeping Beauty, of course, imposes the most rigorous challenges of classic style upon the dancers and not even the visual impact of the production can disguise the fact that Peter Wright needs more dancers properly to realise his conception. On the other hand, Swan Lake, which came back to Covent Garden in its original Samson-Prowse version on Friday, challenges the dancers but, because of the powerful dramatic truth of this staging, allows them to make it a company triumph.

The sombre but very positive view that Wright and his designer / collaborator Philip Prowse take of the ballet lends itself admirably to ensemble acting. Wright here, as so often, gives his supporting cast motivation: they do not stand around in huddles; they participate. And the casting in strength, forced upon a medium-sized troupe, brings performances of great stature from the senior artists. Not since the Bolshoi, for instance, have we seen a Von Rothbart

who commands the stage as powerfully as does Desmond Kelly.

But it is the company, ever since the Manchester premiere in 1981, who have made this production such a success. Every cameo role is vivid; every solo precisely judged. The guest artist principals, Evelyn Hart from Holland, were a little disappointing, but SWRS gave the packed house a rewarding evening.

SHEFFIELD

Pete Martin

Archie Shepp

THROUGHOUT his career Archie Shepp has displayed a strong awareness of the political context of his music, so it was entirely appropriate that his northern debut, at Sheffield University, should take place at an event dedicated to the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa. I'm not so sure, though, that



Archie Shepp at Sheffield University

either the time or the place allowed a fair assessment of the quartet which he is currently touring.

For most of the time we had to endure a prolonged immersion in the old familiar miseries of a student union Saturday night: the interminable search for the late start, the brass support band which has most of the audience huddling in the bar for shelter.

Then, well into Sunday morning, came the Archie Shepp quartet. It would be

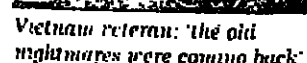
good to report that the long wait was worthwhile, and for a few minutes all seemed well as Shepp's gruff tenor chucked it away through several choruses of Blue Monk.

This, however, soon gave way to a long and incoherent blues vocal, then the leader dabbling in the piano. Back at the keyboard Albert Sarko introduced the next piece over Steve Noll's rumbling bass, and Shepp played a brief but disjointed soprano saxophone solo before launching into one of his remarkable poems. A ballad, rather clumsy treatment of Parker's Moose The Mooche, another blues, and that was it.

Understandably, those who had waited five hours called for an encore, but needless to say there was no time for that. I have no doubt that the Archie Shepp quartet will produce some much more memorable music than their current tour. Hear them by all means—the leader is one of the most compelling voices on the current scene—but try to choose a venue with a caretaker who wants to be home for midnight.

مكتبة الأصيل

W. J. Weatherby watches with some veterans as American TV rewrites history



It reminded me of those Americans in the deep south who give you the family photograph album as a way of getting acquainted. The fading, yellowing snapshots are

tions have become less sensitive, but even so, after several days of steady watching, I became convinced the selection of Vietnam was not made to achieve a certain effect.

The TV emphasis has been on Vietnam as history, as an event already safely buried in the distant past, worthy of study now merely for its historical interest, and far from contemporary involvement as all the other wars in the nation's history.

This impression was underlined by the inclusion of images of the 40th anniversary VE day with the Vietnam coverage, as if the two wars were somehow closely related. World War II was the last American war to be fully backed by its citizens and TV sometimes seemed to be settling the ambiguities of Vietnam by matching it with the more certain war of 1945.

There were, of course, now new bolder images, like yellowing snapshots in the same album, mere dead historic events.

Even when American viewers saw the same images that once awakened them to the

horror of what was happening, their vision was now distorted by the concerns of the 60s. Like the British with their sympathy for the Americans had, since the 1960s, the Americans had, since they too long with a sense of failure over Vietnam and a revisionist view describing the horrors of the last 10 years since they left makes the war seem much more upbeat and positive than it really was.

Normally, the spoken word on TV plays the same minor role as the libretto in an opera, so you can always stop when a spoken message is regarded as important because it is conveyed through the kind of dull images that do not draw the viewer's attention. Several times the poker faces of Vietnam experts have been left to fill the screen for several minutes a long time on TV - while they have, for example, been asked to comment on progress for the fall of South Vietnam and therefore indirectly for the failure of the war.

The commentary has been on this kind of revisionism with an oral history

slight. The domino theory has been trotted out, again with subtler variations. Was Vietnam really a stand-in for China? Or was it like Cuba, Spain or the thirties — the big-power voyeurs' battlefield? Above all is its ghost now reappearing closer to home in Latin America?

The fear of a new Vietnam in Nicaragua has kept popular opinion in the United States on edge for the anniversary. This, too, influenced the way we saw the images. Did Vietnam really represent American "vital interests"? Does Nicaragua? Or are they really "less than vital interests" and therefore misleading images? TV periodically posed some of these questions, but never offered really proving answers.

By the end of TV's long backward look, the strongest visual impression was of a country that America had helped start a war in but which was still a mystery to most of them.

Images of American technology and the spendthrift ways of a rich nation in flight, and the images of a country mixed with the ancient, rural

poverty stricken way of life of most Vietnamese.

It was one of those images that made the veterans leave the airport for the barracks, troops stationed there. A culture shock they never recovered from and many found themselves psychologically uprooted when they came home.

The often mean treatment they have received has made a bad situation much worse. Given the huge errors made by American politicians and top military commanders and the way the war was fought, were given dishonourable discharges should all have been forgiven by now, but many who were appealed have been relentlessly turned down.

TV should have thoroughly aired this big public relations error at this time. Turning the backs on the war history will not make the American young any more eager to fight in another similar war, but treating the veterans with more generosity would have made this anniversary seem more like just another patriotic commercial.

Jill Tweedie

RECOME more convinced that the world as we apprehend it is almost entirely a work of fiction. Whatever reality it ever has is innured to the point of being dulled by accretions of time and place and people so that it resembles the deep sea wreck of a ship whose structure has been so long submerged that it has become a barren and petrified coral.

Our understanding of nature in the present and even future is not founded on fact but is conveyed to us as if we were reading a series of books or plays in which the author has mixed the real, adventure story, legend, comedy, fairy tale, tragedy, and even a dash of science fiction. The result is a kind of comedy grand guignol, thriller, or horror story, depending on the author and today's most apt expression) fabulism. Also, today, we must add to this list the media: television, magazines, and the news.

Like many other people I have always taken for granted that the news and political content of the media was more fiction than non-fiction. Each story has so many layers that need to be exposed and scraped of adhesions before the vaguest "truth" can be discerned.

What government agencies are involved and to what extent have they stage-managed or manipulated the reported events? Who owns the particular medium through which the story is filtered? What are its house politics and who pays its piper? What are the prejudices of the reporter whose choice of facts and words we must decode?

And, last, the reader or viewer, too, adds to the complications with his/her own prejudices, though which the already heavily adulterated brew must be served. One individual may take the story at face value, out of ignorance or personal preference. Another will turn every "fact" on its head and come up with exactly the opposite interpretation of the one given. A third will assume that all such stories are lies and come up with nothing but a deeper cynicism.

But must admit that until quite recently I had thought of the semi-fictional content ended there, with the so-called "hard" stories of world events, world leaders and others who tread the corridors of power. With what now seems incredible naivete, I imagined that the softer stories concerning celebrities, would be celebrities, show, business people, pop stars and the cultural folk — writers, musicians, painters — film-makers, designers — and so on — were non-fiction.

Oh, I quite realised that being interviewed; one of them might omit certain facts. I'm not that dumb, but it never occurred to me that they could all be sitting there and lying through their teeth.

Never occurred, that is, until I was the one sitting there and lying through my teeth. A revelation it was, albeit horribly belated. Yet when I found myself on the other side, in the interviewee's chair, I in my turn could hardly credit the naivete of the journalists who came to interview me.

I had a television series about to be screened. It had taken 10 months of work involving several hundred people: their time, their talents and some temporary part of their careers, reputations and morale. There was an organisation to think of and thousands of pounds of a budget.

And one after another, those journalists opened their mouths and asked was I pleased with the end result, did I think it was good, did I approve of the casting, did I like the director, did I get on with the leading lady, did I think everyone was doing a grand job?

I stared at them as one from another planet. Did they really imagine I would tell them the truth? Did they believe I would sit there and swap gossip, selling everyone down the river to a nose-stranger?

Say the leading lady was appalling, the casting dreadful, the director mad, the producer a drunk, even if all this had been true. Woodward and Bernstein wouldn't have dragged anything out of me but cheerful anodyne banalities which I quickly learnt to discard in favour of some spice, just as long as it came no

Thus I had to be taught what I should have known all along—that anyone who has put months of work into an exhibition, a play, a book, a film or simply their own image has neither the incentive, the possibility nor the slightest wish to confide anything approaching what could be turned into a damaging truth by someone in

Indeed, the skilful and practised carry around with them a whole street-theatre of props, masks and costumes with which to replace the truth, constructing for their interviewer an entire fictional person to take home and write

A glimpse of the obvious, you may say. We've heard about image-building and all that stuff. But the eight journalists who came to interview me didn't know and, since then, I have listened to many others chatting happily away about the truths they believe they have had from famous horses' mouths.

I think they should be told

The price

Country 1



For in spite of the sector's

The 50-year-old Farmers Weekly, a very old-fashioned type of magazine where the name only borrows on page 15.

Never occurred, that is, until I was the one sitting there and lying through my teeth. A

THE language of investigative journalism is unmistakable. "Ambitious, tough, impatient, fastidious, connoisseur of Burgundy and inclined to the impulsive" — he (Sir Frederick Joss) was a shadowy, frightening figure to his children, the other side of the green haze door that separated their father from the nursery. "So is the slightly heaving tone, the constant huming at hidden

But that can't be a static situation. That system is ten

ment, attempts vainly to invoke the Trust. But, in the end, it is hard to see what else could have been done; and certainly any better outcome.

ed such a spread of ownership, topped off with cosmetic Trust status, to give stability and international respectability. So the fruits of that arrangement long long

into the black. There is a dynamic to business life which takes over.

In a sense, of course, the story is incapable of any final verdict at this stage. We don't

There is one other, more difficult point. To set the stage for its little melodrama "The Price of Truth" is

The Price of Truth, by John Laurer and Lionel Barber
Mainstream Publishing \$9.95

have listened to many others chatting happily away about the truths they believe they have had from famous horse mouths.

مكتبة الأصيل

How useful was the journey to Bonn?

And so another economic summit has passed, a homage to inertia, failing to agree even on the issue of when to start the new round of trade talks next year. In one sense it should not matter. The annual economic summit of the seven leading industrialised nations was never intended to produce an annual world budget. But it was also never intended that there should be tens of millions unemployed towards the end of a world economic recovery.

With the honourable exception of Mrs Thatcher's commendable initiative to tackle the world drugs problem on a co-ordinated basis, the seven heads of state did nothing that they were not already planning to do beyond a concerted regimentation of summit platitudes: consolidated progress in reducing inflation, prudent and strengthened budget policies, firm control over public spending, and reducing obstacles to growth. They didn't need to come to Bonn to rejoin last year's communiqué in the word processor.

Expectations in this summit had already been so dampened by the media manipulators, that merely to have agreed a date for the start of the next round of international trade negotiations would have been regarded as success. This was not to be. Even trade talks in France are shortened for a fresh US attempt to break the restrictive practices of the Common Agricultural Policy to open up new markets for American hard-pressed farmers. "Non" said President Mitterrand with both eyes on the farming vote in the 1986 mid year elections for the National Assembly where his majority is threatened.

This will not stop the pressure for trade talks. Indeed the absence of any concrete proposal to reflate the stronger economies, Japan, W. Germany and the UK to take up the slack as the US recovery expires will reinforce the US administration's stance. Faced with ever rising demands for protection from Congress and industry (whose competitiveness at home and abroad has been battered by the strong dollar) the Reagan government will insist on new talks to free not just agriculture but service industries like banking and insurance, plus the burgeoning world of information technology. The state-dominated purchasing policies of every telecommunication utility are the number one target, each seen as a huge outlay for US goods.

If the rest of the world does not agree to open up such markets then the strongly free trade Reagan camp threatens a series of bilateral deals or worse, giving in to domestic pressures for protection which have prompted even high tech firms like Motorola, to call for a 20 per cent import surcharge across the board. If the US administration caves into such pressures — and it is not impossible that they will — then the world would almost certainly relapse into a beggar-my-neighbour trade war which could provoke a fresh international recession instead of a prolonged recovery.

The best way to have avoided that would have been for Europe and Japan to have admitted at Bonn that just as their own "recoveries" owe much to their exports to the US (financed by that country's gargantuan budget deficit) so they owed it to the US economy to expand their own economies to help the US economy towards a "soft-landing" and to reduce their own lengthening unemployment queues.

As it is the opportunity of economic statesmanship has been submerged by misplaced national self-interest. What does it profit the world if inflation is squeezed down another percentage point while the dole queues lengthen and the engine room of the world recovery runs out of gas?

The need to think again about GCHQ

Sir Robert Armstrong, cabinet secretary and head of the home civil service will meet assorted civil service union leaders this week. Of itself, even under present management, this is no big deal. The topic under discussion suggests, however, a certain confusion in governmental circles. For the unions have asked to discuss the latest twist in the sorry saga of GCHQ. The governmental position is, in theory, clear and remains unchanged from the moment the government banned trade union membership at the once-secret establishment. It is in theory no longer possible to be a trade union member and to work at GCHQ. If you hold a union card you are in the running for early retirement, enforced transfer to some less sensitive outpost or, if neither take your fancy, for the sack. Mr Justice Gidwell, in the court of first instance, found the ban unlawful. On appeal, that ruling was overturned. The issue is complicated by the fact that some GCHQ employees took the Government's £1,000 in lieu and then — bolstered by the Gidwell ruling — rejoined the union of their choice.

In all, some 100 GCHQ employees, or about 1½ per cent, are still union members. About half of these never tore up their union cards. The other fifty climbed back on board. It matters little whether you are talking about those who took the money and then had a change of heart or those who toughed it out. A union card is a union card and a union card is supposedly enough to count you out of Cheltenham. Belatedly, nine rejoinders were warned that they face disciplinary proceedings. It is about those warnings that Sir Robert is now prepared to talk. To union leaders the fact that Sir Robert is open to discussion must be a breakthrough. For, applying the unilateral terms of last year's prime ministerial ruling, there is nothing to talk about.

The top-line message union leaders will bring Sir Robert is that union members at GCHQ are not forgotten. Any attempt to sack unionists will result in a call for a 24 hour general strike of civil servants — a strike which will have the full backing of Mr Norman Willis of the TUC. With such a threat a resolute government could, no doubt, live. Having seen off the entire civil service, seeking pay claims above and beyond the norm. Mrs Thatcher could survive a spotty one day stoppage in support of a few dozen "troublemakers." But the middle line is more disturbing. Morale at Cheltenham is at rock bottom. This is not a secret service department that is easily manned. GCHQ demands stable (and marketable) skills, be they languages, the sciences or technological. According to union sources, the recruitment rate is now "practically zero." And resignations, in some particularly saleable skills, are running at around 50 per cent. (Remember those high tech companies which took hotel rooms in Cheltenham last year to recruit the disenchanted at twice the basic civil service rates.)

This is the background against which the new talks will take place. We still believe that last year's offer by the unions was fair and reasonable: A no-strike deal; Divorce of GCHQ from national pay disputes; A system which removes national union officials from local negotiations. Last year those concessions were brushed aside. It would be difficult for any government to reverse such a firm stand — let alone Mrs Thatcher's. And yet, with morale at GCHQ so low the government has very practical reasons to swallow hard and to think again.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The problem of profits

Sir,—Martin Weitzman's profit-sharing Utopia (May 1), although not as new to the UK as he always implies, is a useful stimulus to long-term thinking with a degree of relevance to incomes policies.

But neither he nor those who struggle heroically to adapt his theories to the UK effectively face two implications. Firstly the formulas for apportionment of profit between capital and labour are crucial but remain vague. The non-profits value added taken by labour varies vastly in UK business, between sector and sector and from year to year.

Secondly, Weitzman writes of "offering strong tax advantages for workers to receive income in the form of profit shares and to play the same fairly by the rules. This tax discrimination may be OK in the USA, where profit is king. But in the UK and other countries with vast non-profit sectors (and proud of it), such a highly discriminatory scheme is naive. It is already difficult to justify to nurses, teachers, probation officers and other public servants the valuable tax incentives for employee shareholding which, unlike Weitzman's scheme, are not benefits in cash. Yours faithfully, Richard Wainwright, MP, House of Commons.

Work at a price

Sir,—The county of Cwylid in North Wales is an area that has suffered severely in the post-1979 industrial collapse. Most notably, perhaps, is the loss of 7,000 jobs at BSC Shotton in 1980. We were involved in a study of the impact of the redundancies on the labour market area and the local economy.

Concerned with evaluating the longer-term implications of substantial local employment losses, we have sought to obtain data held by the Department of Trade and Industry on the post-redundancy experience of the Shotton ex-steelworkers over an 18-month period. Despite our efforts, we were unable to obtain the department's cooperation until earlier this year after more than a year of trying.

However, whilst the department is now prepared to let us have the information, it seeks to make a charge — a sum of more than £15,000. Such an amount is prohibitive and means that an extremely important information source will probably never be analysed. There can be no account of how redundancy compensation terms influence the search for work, no analysis of how compensation was used and no assessment of the relationship between compensation and reduction in earnings potential.

More important, faced with the possibility of later closures, there can be no accurate assessment of the potential return to work.

There is no point in collecting data unless they are made available to those who seek to use them constructively. It is inefficient to collect data and then not make them accessible. It is contrary to common sense to restrict and confine access and to apply commercial criteria to organisations that are not using data for commercial purposes. Such an attitude restricts and limits understanding and is not in the interests of the community nor the economy.—Yours faithfully, David R. Jones, R. Ross Mackay, Department of Economics, University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Sir,—Your Dairy Item (May 3) prints the amusing story about the two members of Leicester CND "Rabbits" and finishes 1911 letters later as "alanyslanlythreolargylasease." The formula can be shortened to C1289H2061N34037583, but even this requires 23 syllables of speech.

In fact, a curious aspect of this mega-clump of information is that, although it has often been written and printed, it has never to my knowledge been actually spoken.—Yours faithfully, John Chesterman, London WC1.

A COUNTRY DIARY.

KESWICK: There has been a lot of north wind this spring, as there often is here, and its latest breath came searching into every corner of the farmyard on the fell. The cobbles were dry this morning and partly swept, the lads had finished mucking-out but then this is a farm which is well-kept even in the milkiest weather. The farmhouse sits in the centre of its buildings, barns, byre and lotts like a hen amongst chickens. Everything was in order. Lambing is almost finished. It has been a good year with plenty of

twins, a few triplets and happily no "pet" lambs in the orchard but the orchard does not lack life. Late daffodils bend in the wind and the viburnum on the house wall is full of scent. A greenish wasp was busy stripping the buds from a big plum tree, leaving the daisy trees to open their first flowers. There was more shelter in the valley bottom. The green catkins willows hardly stirred and the sun light shone up the length of the beck. Water weed fanned below in the current, the brown spears of flag iris just

broke the surface and only the dark poisonous green droop stood clear of the flow. The asbes are clothed with purple-brown flower buds. There are signs of occupation round the badger sett but each spring is a race to see who has a chance to watch there or will the pushy, inquisitive crows be turned out after winter? I have won so far this year abetted by bad weather, and an old hen in the Lyth valley always said that nasty spells, "cow-quakes" often came with the new grass.

ENID J. WILSON

Sir,—There will no doubt be wide-spread sympathy for Larry Gostin in his gallant attempt to reform the National Council for Civil Liberties. It is a pity, however, that according to the account given in your columns (May 2) he appears to be still thinking in terms of "Right and Left."

These labels beloved of journalists, Fowler and his colleagues are misleading when applied to the field of civil liberties, as unjustified limitations on the liberty of the subject can come from any quarter.

The only distinction which matters is between those who are destroying freedom and those who are defending it and the dividing line does not correspond to political parties and certainly bears no relation to the division between trade unionists and non-trade unionists.—Yours R. J. Silburn, 10 Woodcote Hurst, Epsom, Surrey.

Sir,—I was hoping that flocinacanthinillicidation would be the last word on the subject... until you allowed your correspondent (May 3) to make the quantum leap into scientific jargon.

This was a dangerous move because you enter a form of linguistic hyperspace where few would boldly go, a kind of black-hole where syntax is suspended and language takes on a life of its own. For instance, (and you had better take a deep breath here), the longest word I have come across in any language is the name of a protein that begins "methionylglutaminyl" and finishes "1911" letters later as "alanyslanlythreolargylasease." The formula can be shortened to C1289H2061N34037583, but even this requires 23 syllables of speech.

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A cruel experiment with Britain's youth

pointed out that the proposals would result in an increasing number of people competing for a reducing amount of deteriorating accommodation and a very dramatic increase in the number of people forced to sleep outdoors.

Homeless people will find it unfortunate in the extreme that the Government has chosen to all but ignore the advice of the SSAC by producing regulations which the Chair of the SSAC has described as a "leap in the dark."

Homeless and unemployed boarders who are under 26 will be the primary victims of the Government's cruel experiment. They will be forced to leave the areas in which they grew up (the very reason was to make them stay put) and then con-

tinued moving areas every 2 to 8 weeks. In this enforced nomadic nightmare the right to vote and the right to medical attention will become meaningless and family connections will be severed.

In the published regulations summarised the SSAC's response to this as "Welcome limitation of restriction to those aged 25 and under." Unfortunately the Government seems to have overlooked the far from welcoming paragraph 72 of the SSAC's report on the regulations which warns:

"... However, we think they (ie, the regulations) do still pose substantial and extremely worrying problems, the most significant of which remain the possibility of creating a class of homeless and rootless young person

who is unable to return to the parental home for whatever reason, and who cannot remain long enough in any one location to find permanent accommodation or a job."

Some of us may hope in vain that the SSAC's unpalatable "possibility" does not become fact. But what else can be expected when young people without homes, jobs and now without hope are kicked off the bottom rung of the housing ladder? — Yours faithfully, Nigel Kite, London E15.

Sir,—The social scene in Britain today is becoming desperate. Working with the young unemployed, I have seen develop over the past five years an increasing gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

In many areas of the country one can now see whole families with no wage to sustain them. It is not that parents do not want their children to live at home: it is that they may be unable to afford to let them stay. It is also important to recognise that young people associate leaving home and making their own way in life as being "adult."

With the introduction of the changes in benefit eligibility, the pressures to enforce participation in YTS,

requesting a diagnostic test does not indicate that it is for a private patient, thereby depriving the NHS of valuable income whilst charging the patient under the heading "professional services." This situation arises even when arrangements exist to help identification of the system relies entirely on the honesty and competence of the individual consultant and is therefore open to abuse.

The only answer really is to ban all private consultations from NHS hospitals. A full-time NHS consultant should mean exactly that: no private work allowed. No doubt this is anathema to many consultants but the question is can the NHS afford to forgo millions of pounds of revenue?

This does not solve the problem of potential abuses of the system by General Practitioners, but it would go a long way to reducing the loss of revenue suffered and the consequent further deterioration in service.—Yours sincerely, A. McBurney, Markfield, Leics.

Sir,—The real reason for long waiting lists in our hospitals is lack of NHS staff and facilities in relation to the population. We in Gloucester for example have four Consultant General Surgeons. In Canada, a country of similar size would have fifteen. In most of Europe, the United States and in Eastern block countries, waiting lists are generally short of non-existent because of higher ratios of trained staff to population.

Private facilities are bound to flourish if the State service is inadequately staffed. Skilled workers in other jobs are rarely blamed for taking on extra work in their spare time. Private facilities ease the burden of the NHS considerably.

Finally let it be remembered that the NHS has survived largely due to the goodwill of its medical staff and the numerous unpaid hours worked by most of us over the years.—Yours sincerely, John O. Kirby, M.S., F.R.C.S., Consultant Surgeon, 19 College Green, Gloucester.

Sir,—Dr D. S. Grimes gives the impression that Health Authorities are totally at fault for failing to bill private patients. The problem with the present system is that it relies entirely on the honesty of the consultant to declare which patients are being treated privately and which are receiving treatment from the NHS.

Dr Grimes states over the charges consultants make for "professional services." What exactly constitutes these professional services? In many cases diagnostic tests are involved, which are performed by NHS laboratory services. These tests are often very expensive but in many cases, the consultant

individual contributions to the wellbeing, which if the present price were to be turned out to be immense. The slight snag is that CERN, valuable as it has been so far, may in all its trials turn out to prove too puny a tested by Paul Davies, an enthusiastic supporter of CERN, reckons in his new book *Superforce* that the particle accelerator needed to verify the ultimate equations would have to be the size of the solar system. (The military spin-off from this is doubtless under review.) So where does it end?

Leaving aside the precise circumference of the ultimate accelerator it would be unusual if scientific discovery were not to make an impact on political life and human conduct now as it has done in the past. What form this influence will take is unpredictable in the same way as the current arms race could not have been precisely predicted from the original splitting of the atom.

To hazard a guess, the influence will be benign because the research points in that direction. Fritiof Capra is now in the thick of Green politics, which is where physics has led him. The whole title is between the individual and the rest of nature. The distinction of Green politics is that it is less dominated by the issuance of manifestos and the enact-

This search for the final unifying principles (the grand unified theories as they are called) may prove "only" a stimulating intellectual exercise. It may go further and lead to a re-orientation of our understanding of the universe and of our own

mechanics in unhindered, and climbed on to a display架. Alconbury is the war HQ for European Nuclear Forces and (according to the plane spotting policemen) was that day in the middle of one of their many NATO exercises. It surely highlights the black farce New calls "defence" when it cannot repel a few rabbits.—Yours, Jeremy Deacon, Leicester CND.

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and as if this wasn't bad enough they tip you out once a week.

Incoming call

Sir,—Debate in your columns about the Fowler Review of the income maintenance system has reached a high pitch well in advance of publication. Yet the terms of this so-called "radical" Review ensure that the debate would be conducted on deeply traditional lines.

By excluding the system of personal income taxation from consideration, Fowler made certain that the argument would be about how deeply to cut the social security system, rather than the principles of income distribution.

Already there are large groups in our society with no proper guarantees of income security, and the Review will create new ones. The time has come for new principles in the income maintenance system, which take account of changing patterns of employment and changing attitudes towards personal responsibilities.

The idea that every citizen is of equal worth would be the basis of a universal, non-contributory benefit, paid unconditionally to each individual, irrespective of work or marital status.

This truly radical new principle could only be achieved through integrating the personal income taxation system with the maintenance system. Fowler's Review has thrown the debate backwards beyond Beveridge.

Bill Jordan, Basic Income Research Group, London WC1.

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To hazard a guess, the influence will be benign because the research points in that direction. Fritiof Capra is now in the thick of Green politics, which is where physics has led him. The whole title is between the individual and the rest of nature. The distinction of Green politics is that it is less dominated by the issuance of manifestos and the enact-

ment of legislation for the better ordering of "society," assuming direct personal responsibility for what happens instead of shuffling off the responsibility on to distant and anonymous institutions of state. (That's what makes it frightening.)

It could be argued that a column devoted to CERN should eventually make up its mind which is more worth the money, that or the scores of smaller but valuable projects which the science and engineering research council would like to encourage. The easy way out is to compare the cost of CERN with that of the Trident programme or other extravaganzas which spring to mind. That, however, is not an option open to Sir John Kendrew. I hope he will not impoverish CERN. That would not be an easy conclusion to justify to a victim of the Ethiopian famine. But if particle physics does have something to say about human behaviour it might be easier to convince a political refugee.

It will in any case be a moment to enjoy if Green or holistic politics finds its intellectual underpinning in a vast, energy-intensive, and scarcely comprehensible mechanism under the Alps. Perhaps we should look forward to that day.

Hugo Young's column will appear on Tuesdays

The Green light that beckons at the end of the tunnel

John Kendrew advises whether Britain should continue its subscription to the European Nuclear Research Centre (CERN) at Geneva.

The £50 million which Britain contributes in membership fees for the use of equipment goes among other things towards the maintenance of a particle accelerator five miles in circumference and the building of an even larger one, circumference 17 miles, under the Jura mountains. In these machines electrons and their anti-matter counterparts, positrons, are accelerated to within a fraction of the speed of light in order to test physical theories which go to the root of the existence of the five sciences of the universe.

To find the money from a severely restricted science budget of £587 million, other projects, more modest but with more obvious applications, have to be turned away by the five science research councils which administer the grants. The crude way to put it is that scientific inquiries which might have an early impact on mental health, agriculture, atmospheric pollution or geological exploration are being sacrificed to a pure research discipline of great intellectual rigor but not practical use. But that would be very crude indeed.

Hitherto the work done at CERN has had no military

and scarcely any other practical application, which makes it the more surprising that it should have survived. With the advent of the Strategic Defence Initiative governments are looking for contracts may now hope that the charged particles whirled through the Jura mountains will eventually earn their keep in space-based military hardware, so that the technological spin-off which is so often put forward as the justification for pure research might even accrue to CERN. That would be a gross distortion of the life's work of every physicist this century as well as those practising today.

For the fact is that there has already been important spin-off from particle physics and quantum mechanics, but it is not technological and the interpretation of it has scarcely begun. A handful of physicists have found ways to relate the tremendous discoveries of the past 50 years, and the past four or five, to the urgencies of the human condition, if that is not too lavish a term. Among the most influential has been Fritiof Capra in his classic *The Tao Of Physics*, which traces the unexpected parallels in the views of the world provided by particle physics and the eastern mystical religions. David Bohm, Professor of Theoretical Physics at Birkbeck College, has since given a holistic context to quantum mechanics in

his "wholeness and the implications of order."

Of the two biggest changes brought about by 20th century physics one is to replace determinism, in which every event could in principle be predicted by a knowledge of the motions of atoms, by an infinite series of possibilities arising from the irregularity of particle behaviour. The other is to replace the separateness of atoms, molecules, and hence the organisms of which they form part, by connections which have physicists themselves reeling at the implications. It appears an exaggeration that a particle which helps to constitute a person at one moment may be at the centre of a star the next.

The main ambition of high-energy physics now is to harmonise the four elementary forces of nature, which are electromagnetism, the strong and weak forces which bind the atomic nucleus together, and gravity. Two of them have been gravely and lead to a re-orientation of our understanding of the universe and of our own



Geoffrey Taylor

SO FAR as outsiders can understand it, particle physics remains the most exciting of the sciences as well as the user of the biggest machinery. It has a bearing on everyday life in two ways, one obvious and the other less so.

Laymen are, of course, at some disadvantage because physics depends on forbidding equations as well as occasional shafts of genius. Indeed, physicists tend to insist that no one else can begin to understand the harmony, subtlety, and beauty of their world, which is perhaps not the most tactful way of extracting money from a reluctant Treasury.

Whether or not we fully understand the harmony we shall soon know more about the finances when a committee under Sir

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What future for the welfare state?

COMMENTARY

Ian Aitken



Much the same process has been visibly developing over the past six months, as Mr. Fowler buckled down to the mammoth task of preparing his reports on the future of the welfare state. First came the word that the Secretary of State was himself drafting the main body of the document. We heard that Mr. Fowler had been seen driving away to some unknown destination, there to be alone with his portable typewriter and his thoughts.

Then followed reports that a mad axeman, whose description bore a striking similarity to that of the Chancellor, had been seen lurking in the shadows of Great George Street. While Mr. Fowler struggled to preserve and improve our ramshackle welfare system, it was alleged that Mr. Lawson was demanding cuts of up to £4 billion as the price of Treasury agreement.

By now, it should have come as no surprise to learn that Mr. Fowler had won again. In spite of his own threats, the £4 billion cuts had been averted. All the welfare state would have to suffer it seemed was a mere one billion.

And that, in general, has

been the pattern of Mr. Fowler's long run of triumphs over the Treasury. Not for billion cuts, just one billion. Callooh! Callooh!

This procedure has certainly marked out Mr. Fowler as a clever politician, well qualified for the departmental promotion most MPs expect him to secure in Mrs. Thatcher's autumn reshuffle. He will leave behind him a splendid new blueprint (in every sense of the term) for the welfare state. Someone else will have to put it into effect.

But if this seems a cynical, even hostile, account of Mr. Fowler's career at the Department of Health and Social Security, it is not intended to be — at least, not entirely. For the fact is that any fair person who is prepared momentarily to divest himself of his ideological allegiance must recognise that the future of the welfare state really does pose serious problems to any British government, whatever its political colour.

Short of some kind of British "economic miracle" which would create the kind of steep and sustained economic growth that has eluded every British govern-

effective welfare state in a civilised society. Even Labour MPs will sooner or later be forced to re-examine the principle of universality, in spite of the fact that many of them have consistently regarded it as the touchstone of the Beveridge-style welfare state.

That principle is already under threat because too many people can now see that huge sums of money are being wasted in pointless payments to people who do not need it, simply in order to save the genuinely needy from humiliation and embarrassment. It does not require mathematics at A-level to see that if such waste was not paid out, there would be more available for the needy.

But the Government's efforts to block off that particular drain on its funds have created in the best traditions of Professor Palash's shower bath, an entirely different and even more absurd drain. We now have a vast bureaucracy spread from end to end of the land, whose sole task is to dish out money to people who don't need it so that they can take it back again in taxation.

Indeed, thanks to inflation, even some of the people who genuinely do need the money are now seeing some of it snatched back from them by the ever-lengthening arm of the Inland Revenue. In this kind of madhouse, the only beneficiaries are the civil servants.

What is it that has brought us to this absurd position? I believe it can be

traced back to the evil days of the 1930s, when the Man from the Means Test terrorised entire communities in Scotland, South Wales, Tyne and the North West. That means test was enforced with ruthless cruelty, confining every last penny available throughout whole families in order to deprive starving children of food and warmth. The experience created a folk-memory in the Labour movement which has ensured that the very mention of a means test is instantly rejected as a return to squalor and humiliation for millions of poor families.

But it need not be so. On the contrary, some form of means test has always been regarded in the Labour Party and the trades unions as central to the creation of a fair society insofar as it acts as the collection of income tax and rates. There would be uproar if it were to be suggested that such taxes should not reflect relative levels of income and wealth.

The time has now come for the Labour Party to re-examine its mythology. And it happens that the advent of the computer age may well have provided it with the opportunity to do so. What is wrong with putting the entire nation's income tax returns on a single monster computer, and conducting a design version of the means test from that? It is really no more than fitting a new and efficient thermostat to Professor Palash's shower.

PAUL KEEL reports from the beaches of Benidorm

On the Costa calma

BENIDORM was awoken yesterday morning by dozens of small explosions. The sound reverberated round the dense cluster of hotel and flat tower blocks which rise competitively above the Mediterranean bay on the Costa Blanca. The sudden noise caused startled tourists to peer cautiously from their hotel balconies, but the waiters putting out chairs and tables in front of the restaurant bars below carried on unperturbed.

What the waiters knew, and the tourists did not, is that May 3 is a religious festival in Spain and the Spaniards, who seem to have an enthusiasm for fireworks exceeded only by the Chinese, will let them off given any excuse. Even the normally jumpy colony of ferrets in Benidorm seemed used to the commotion.

If anyone is alarmed it's the Spanish government — naturally concerned about the effect that ETA's latest bombing campaign could have on this year's tourist industry, already hit by rising prices and reports of mugging.

Even if the local ministry of tourism officials did not tell visitors about Sunday, the Cinco de Mayo, the Ministry of the Interior has drafted in hundreds of extra police officers to patrol this, and all the other, resorts on Spain's Mediterranean coast.

Observing them on the lookout for terrorists from the Basque separatist organisation, can also be a puzzling experience for visitors. Judging by the attention they receive, high on the list of suspect persons in Benidorm this holiday weekend seemed to be scantily dressed young women, but the police are taking their duties more seriously: all along Benidorm's two-mile stretch of sandy beach car and personal identification checks have been a familiar sight.

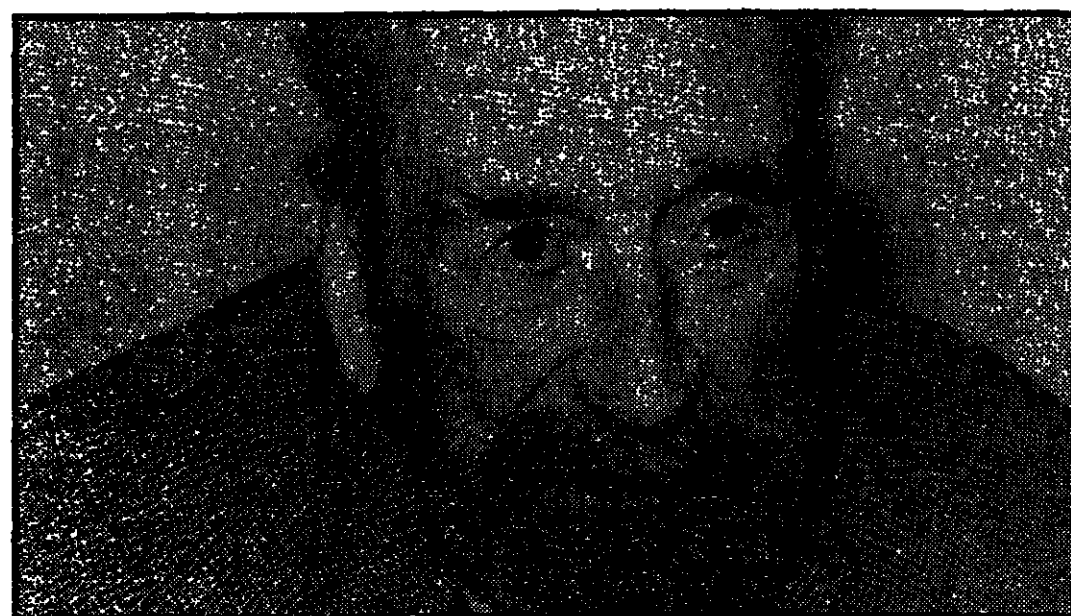
The Alicante police authorities responsible for the Costa Blanca are convinced that those responsible for the four explosions and the many more false alarms in the region so far are Vascons (Basques) living and working locally. This is one reason why the authorities hope the campaign to damage the tourist industry rather than life and limb will not be extended to the Costa del Sol, where the Vascons would find it more difficult to go underground.

"Loco" and "joven" ("mad" and "young") are the two adjectives most employed by the Spanish here to describe the ETA activists. Although concerned about the immediate effect of the movement's campaign on tourism they are inclined to shrug off its long-term significance. The front page of yesterday's edition of the Alicante-based newspaper, *Informacion*, gave most space to a story about the desecration of two graves in a local municipal cemetery.

The indigenous population's response to the present problems is matched by that of the tourists. On Saturday night in Benidorm hundreds ate and drank behind plate-glass windows overlooking the beach where a bomb exploded in the early, unpopulated, hours of the morning last week.

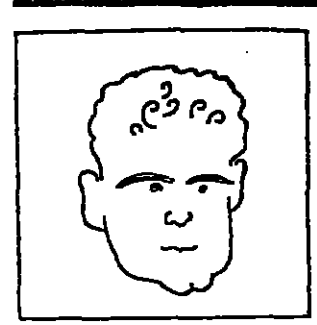
That device, containing only a few grammes of plastic explosive, would never have been heard above the discos, let alone have shattered the glass. Far more dangerous at Benidorm bars yesterday were the cocktails being dispensed to tourists in goblets the size of goldfish bowls.

While the Basque nationalist party this weekend was condemning ETA's present campaign for damaging the image of their region, expatriate Britons drinking in Benidorm's *Parrot Taverna* were less bothered. David Bickel from Surrey, a barman who has lived and worked in the resort for the last two years, yesterday summed up the feeling of many of his regulars who have retired to or bought businesses on the Costa Blanca. "Four English people were killed in a road accident around here three weeks ago. I bet that didn't make headlines in Britain, did it?"



Percy Fender: at the Oval in 1922 (right); playing for a cricketers' authors team in 1957 (left); and as he is now (above).

Thirty four minutes of heaven at the crease



Terry Coleman

P. G. H. FENDER is the celebrated cricketer who in 1920 scored a first class hundred in 35 minutes, which was the fastest century ever. It is a record which has not been broken, and it is in all the books and in the memory of almost anyone who has watched or read about cricket.

But men who make legends do not always know much about it, and Mr. Fender, who is still living at the age of 92, remembers very little about his innings. This is not only because he is a great age, and old men forget. When I went to see him the other day he said that the Surrey scorer had told him the time was not 35 minutes, it was 34. He said it was not until some time afterwards — he cannot remember how long — that he did realise what he had done. And he had not kept the bat — as a man might who knew he had done a great feat with it.

Not kept it at all? "Not separately, no. I went on using it."

And he hadn't got it now? "No."

But he does still have a swordstick presented to him, in a gallant gesture, by a man he defeated in a duel. That was just before the first world war.

When I asked about this duel he said, "Oh, we'll forget about that." But he had won? He had wounded his man? "A scratch was enough." What were they duelling over? "A girl."

So, he had kept the memento of that encounter but not the bat that made the hundred.

I went to see Mr. Fender because we are now at the beginning of another cricket season, because of that famous hundred, and because he is, so far as I know, the oldest Test cricketer still living, and because he is P. G. H. Fender, and played in an era when the presence of a name on the scorecard in that form gave information. He was not written down as Percy Fender, as he would now familiarly appear on an Oval scorecard (sometimes now even called programmes). His friends might have called him Percy, or George, but to the cricketing public he was P. G. H. Fender, and the initials before his name meant, of course, that he was an amateur.

He now lives in a nursing home at Exeter. He is almost blind and a bit deaf, a great tall man propped up in an armchair, looking a bit like an aged Brigadier. He believes his family on the paternal side were very likely Scottish outlaws, and that a stream and a property near Blair Atholl bear his name. He remembers very little of anything at all recent. Mention the West Indies and he calls to mind Challenger, a fine batsman from Barbados

who last appeared in England in 1928. But he remembers with great clarity the incidents of a lifetime ago.

As a schoolboy of 17 he played for Sussex, hadn't he? And hadn't he once played with Ranji?

"I didn't run him out," came the answer straightaway. "Yes, against the Australians, in '12." Ranji, having made 125, called the boy for a run. Fender sent him back, and Ranji was run out. And it turned out, when I checked later, that Ranji had been run out but had admitted the fault was his own.

This was about the time of the duel over the girl, and about the time Fender, who says to this day that he always wanted to be a barrister, went to watch the trial of Crippen for murdering his wife.

"Yes, I was there. Well, you see, a great friend of my father was clerk of the court at the Old Bailey, and he said I could go and sit with him under the judge at any time, and I used to go quite frequently."

In the 1914 war Fender served in the Royal Flying Corps. After the war he played for Surrey, made the 35 minute century, and in 1920-21 toured Australia with the MCC. The team went out by boat, stopping everywhere, and when they reached Australia the team all ended up in quarantine for two weeks, because, as he remembers, one of the passengers who boarded at Colombo went down with something or other.

He became captain of Surrey, and once employed an American baseball coach to sharpen the county's throwing. He was in the wine business, and had his own brand of whisky, called P.G.H. One winter he toured the United States with Jack

Hubert. "I was instrumental in constructing a company which was playing in a show — I think it was called *The Way, New York and Chicago*. I think it made money, just."

The Twenties were the days when a cricketer could attain the sort of popularity nowadays achieved only by pop stars and smoocher players. Fender achieved it and it did him no good. By 1924 he had played in 12 Tests. Thereafter he played in only another one, and he puts this down to Lord Harris of the MCC — "because we disagreed on most things" — and to H. D. G. Leveson Gower, president of Surrey.

In an age when amateurs generally entered the field from one gate and the professionals from another, Fender liked to lead his team out all together. He says this was not approved of. "And I asked the Surrey committee to make it the same dressing room for both, but they wouldn't. That was Leveson Gower, of course."

And Fender, while continuing as captain of Surrey, had also turned to journalism, which is enough to put anyone beyond the pale. In 1928-9 he went to Australia to cover the Test series for the old Star, and also wrote a book about it, which does at times make strange reading.

This was Bradman's first series. It was also the season that Bradman made more runs in an Australian season than anyone has made before or since. But Fender, in his book, described the young man as someone who could be "relied upon to field," and said that he would "always be in the category of the brilliant, if unsound, ones."

Well, anyone can make a mistake, and it's particularly

hard luck not to think all that much of a man who became one of cricket's paramount geniuses, but I suggested to Fender that he had been just plain wrong, hadn't he?

"In a sense, yes," he said, but that was about all the concession he was going to make. Bradman, he said, had turned out to be good in his particular strikes, and had made them successfully, but Hobbs had been the better batsman.

And among the Australians, Fender had preferred Kippax? "Yes, and what was the chap who died? Jackson? (A. A. Jackson, who made 164 in his first Test). I thought Jackson was the better player."

Now Jackson's brief career had and has its many admirers, but as I sat with Fender the other day I had a feeling that, come what may, and 55 years on, he was going to stand by his perverse opinion of Bradman. He persisted in thinking not all that much of him even in 1930. Now Bradman in England in 1930 scored 974 runs in five Tests at an average of 139, but when I mentioned this season Fender said: "I don't remember an impression of Bradman in 1930, except one thing. In the Oval match against Surrey he was dropped at short leg before he was in double figures."

How many did he then make? "Oh, he made a hundred, I expect." What he made was 252 not out, one of six innings over 200 he made that season.

Fender also played some part in the bodyline controversy of 1932-33, when the bowling of Larwood and Voce, under the England captain Jardine, so menaced the persons of the Australian batsmen as nearly to start a war between Britain and her loyal Dominion. For an anal-

ysis of Fender's part in this, one had best go, as I have gone for this and many other things, to Richard Streeton's scholarly book, *P.G.H. Fender: a Biography*.

But, simply, the fact is that Fender and Jardine were great friends, that Fender was known as a mighty shrewd and sharp thinker on how to get your opponent out, and that Fender publicly took Jardine's part.

When that series was won and the MCC embarrassed by the furore, and when the time came for the Australians next to tour England in 1934, Jardine wrote to the MCC as Fender puts it, "with great dignity and magnificent disdain," saying he didn't want to be considered as a player again, let alone as captain.

"He was sick of all the rows," says Fender. Very well, but what about the idea of leg theory bowling itself? Was it a good idea? "As far as I was concerned, it was more or less accidental. You see, he (Larwood) was a very fast bowler, and every now and again he would bowl from wide of the crease, and the ball would come across your body and if it missed one bit it would hit the other bit." Here Mr. Fender, in his arm chair, placed his hand over his heart to show where.

What about the batsman getting hit? "Well, he shouldn't be standing in the wrong place," Mr. Fender said. He had played against Larwood six times a season, two county matches, two Gentlemen and Players, and a couple of festival games, and he never got hit.

The only time I have seen Mr. Fender before was in Melbourne at the Centenary Test match in 1977, when he was 80 and with many

other former England players. But he did not remember that extraordinary match. Nor did he remember anything about a man called O'Shaughnessy except that a newspaper once brought O'Shaughnessy to see him. O'Shaughnessy is a Lancashire batsman who in 1933 having been bowled balls to hit, to encourage a declaration, made a century also in 36 minutes, thus equalling the record Mr. Fender remembers nothing about their meeting.

But Mr. Fender does remember, and then told me in detail about it, how he played on the lawn at Melrose, Holland Road, Brighton, with his two uncles and their father. He was six or seven. They gave him a tennis racket, and they played cricket with a tennis ball. And the county ground at Hove was only five minutes away, and he remembers Millward, the captain of Brighton Brunswick, and he remembers the man who ran the nursery at the county ground. And then we came to a catch he once made. That must have been much later.

"I remember," he said, "one catch I made which surprised even me. I was fielding at third slip, and I reached for it, and it struck. I didn't really know it was catch until after the event."

After the events of a life, the things that stick in P.G.H. Fender's mind — as appeared in that hour's conversation in Exeter — were that catch, a preference for young Jackson over young Bradman, tennis balls on the lawn, and the man who ran the nursery at Hove. Not his legendary hundred at all, though he does say the Surrey scorer told him it was made in 34 minutes, not 35.

The unity only Labour can provide

Pictures by Robert Abernethy

KEN LIVINGSTONE

in conversation with

BEATRIX CAMPBELL

Bea Campbell: Forgive me for saying it, but I think you could have redefined the whole rate-capping debate earlier. Something stopped you. Weren't you holding on to your alliance with the hard Left despite your own better judgment?

Ken Livingstone: The GLC has worked because you've brought hard Left soft Left, Centre and those Right-wingers that want to do something useful with their lives, together. I mean I'm not looking for a labour movement in which the hard Left is isolated and made powerless and useless and irrelevant. The Left only advances in Britain where there's a degree of unity. If I was in the Communist Party which ever wing I was in, I wouldn't drive the other out. All through last year, I was working on the assumption that the miners' strike would run for a bit longer than it did. About October, I started making speeches saying if rate-capping starts while the miners' strike is going on, the Government will be in real straits because it can't police both the mining communities and the cities.

The rate-capping struggle and the miners' running concurrently would have been immeasurably good for both of them. There couldn't have been a worse time for the miners' strike to come to an end from our viewpoint—exactly when it was about to lift off. And that was a chance of victory worth trying for.

Why was it when some of your colleagues tried to change the terms of the rate-capping debate in an article in the New Socialist last year you didn't participate in that? What were you trying to do was realign or change the terms of the debate so the sort of questions that you've been asking would have been asked when it, they were left on their own.

That's really because all my natural suspicions were aroused about what the motives were and where it was leading. I mean within me are a lot of the old Tanky and vanguardist attitudes as well as a lot of the new ones. It's not that I'm a product of just what's happened here recently. I think

the reason I often probably annoy people like yourself is basically those conflicting strands which run through my political approach. The real weakness was that the strategy which was effectively binding the whole of the London Labour Party, and having an impact on national policy, was what emerged from meetings with leaders and we never really brought together the wider movement, or consulted them even. I think we mistook going and talking at trade unionists about having a great struggle for actually involving them.

Do you feel there's sometimes a belief that the people are essentially conservative, frightened, won't want to go the whole way? Success carries a vocabulary of heroism, martyrdom, sacrifice, another civility test?

I think that's a very strong part of the Left tradition, because there were times when people did die for the cause. Spain in the 30s, and the struggles of people in the civil rights movement in the States, right across the western world. I think what has happened is that the Left hasn't kept pace with the changes in what individuals have in terms of information and power. What we haven't fully adjusted to, perhaps because too many of us sit around getting dew-eyed at the thought of Russia in 1917, is that the world is really very different. Most workers have access to information on a scale which was most probably the preserve of the absolute elite in society. They get it through their television, even though it is distorted. The failure of the rate-capping campaign is that for a variety of reasons we regressed.

You feel it's a failure?

Yes. It's a failure to understand the way we should actually treat the Government. We slipped back into the simple position which has been outdated for years, of fine speeches and over-looked the fact that we didn't mobilise the community as a lot of the new trade unionists, because we never sat down and thought where do we want to be.

Now, in terms of what we've done in things like the GLC women's committee, ethnic minorities, gay rights, we've had a quite clear idea of where we wanted to get to — breaking down attitudes and prejudices and changing lifestyles. At the end of the day nobody sat down and thought what do we want to get out of rate-capping. It remained a purely defensive struggle. We never said rate-capping gives us a chance to completely transform our cities.

Why not?

I think because the basic traditional way in which the Labour Party campaigns is they call meetings and speak to the public, and then go on to the next meeting. We do not find a way of involving the community in all the various phases of the community within the structure of the labour movement. We don't involve them in the decision-making process. We talk to them. And if we get the message right, well that's fine. For a while they'll be with you. And if you can then deliver something perhaps they'll stay with you, until it goes wrong. Then what you've built is revealed as just a shell.

The picture that you've described leaves the feeling that the labour movement is a movement that doesn't move.

Yes. The trade union movement, for example, had a very clear relevance to a large proportion of working-class Britain in Victorian times. It's not developed as the party's developed, and it's not got more involved in the struggles it could do within the community—around housing, planning transport—because it is solely geared to wages and conditions. The only time it gets into a wider political perspective is via the Labour Party or Labour government. Once it moves away from the wage base it becomes basically a resistive body, not a participatory one. And even worse, in many areas it has ceased to be a participatory movement even at the point of production.

All this sounds similar to the debate on the Left

which, I suppose, these days would be identified with Eric Hobsbawm, a debate about a crisis of participation and representation within the labour movement. Do you feel either interested in or informed by that debate?

The whole of the labour movement's been interested and involved in that. If you actually look at what Tony Benn's been saying for over a decade, a lot of it was about democracy. I remember a speech in which he mentioned the Chinese philosopher who said really great leaders were the ones you never remember.

But however much we say yes, we want to build this participatory party, be a mass movement, at the end of the day all our style of operation in the Labour Party goes into winning control of smaller and smaller caucuses, getting someone elected to a leading position here, there and everywhere, and then waiting for them to deliver. And then when they don't deliver, you condemn them. And then the process starts again and you get somebody else in. And you're either got to accept that the whole history of the labour movement leadership is one of consistent and deliberate betrayal or perhaps we're going wrong somewhere and individuals are ways going to be either defeated or broken by events if we don't build a structure around them that allows them to thrive.

Given the weak labour movement, and the fact that it can't deliver to the masses and it doesn't involve them, people like Benn whilst he was in government, people like me whilst I'm in the GLC, can use the machinery almost as a substitute. That's one of our major weaknesses. We've got a very well-oiled, expensive machine that can make an impact, just as the government ministers have. Once that's gone, you're really back into the shell which the labour movement is.

In terms of the debate, it's partly the problem of who your friends are. A lot of the problem with the reaction to the Labour Left to Hobsbawm is the speed with which the most bankrupt ele-

ments of the Labour and trade union leadership grabbed on Hobsbawm to justify the last 20 years of failure. Now I'm not including Kinnock in that. And that was damaging. Because as soon as that lot started sneering at Hobsbawm, you pull away. Tony Benn sees a time when you've got to try to change the Labour Party affiliations, open it up.

The way I see it, the Labour Party should really be the parliament of the British Left and it should be open to everybody to participate in. They shouldn't have to do it through a very rigid structure.

But why should the rest of the Left have to regard the Labour Party as the centre of its universe? What about the Labour Party engaging in and taking some responsibility for some of the struggles that have been successful over the last few years. How about the possibility of seeing the Labour Party as one institution in the spectrum of the Left. The problem we've all got who are not in it is that the Labour Party has no responsibility, non-institutional forms of struggle.

But that's the point that I'm trying to make. I mean at some point there needs to be some sort of umbrella organisation through which the whole of the Left have their links and their relationships, and build whatever alliances they can about the particular struggles that affect them at that time. Now I believe that you can have the Labour Party either as one element of that or providing that umbrella role.

But people who are in movement, like the Labour Party, would feel it's chaotic and chaotic position to start from. You have supported those movements which seek to supersede that chaoticism, and that inevitably puts you in a position which represents a realignment on the Left.

You see, as realignment, I see it as widening out and bringing together. Because realignment has a context of exclusion and it's about a new dominance within that. I just don't think that can work. I mean, the people

that are the signatories of the Class Politics pamphlet, the Tankies in your party and the sort of McDonnellites in mine, if you try and exclude them, they are going to end up taking a sufficient body of support away to really weaken the chances of the new alignment you want.

What I'm saying is that we exist in a fascinating historical moment. And you in a sense embody what some of that change means to an awful lot of people. And what's fascinating about it is that there is a new historic settlement within the progressive movement at large. There are different terms for the alliances between the elements that make it up. For women one of the different terms is that we are no longer going to be subordinate. It's not a matter of kicking people around or kicking them out. It's about what alliances are most productive to advance a new historic settlement.

And there can't be a better time now to try and reach those people in the aftermath of what we've learnt from the miners' strike and the aftermath of what we've learnt from the rate-capping struggles.

But why then in that case did you hang on to a kind of personal political allegiance to political activists that didn't represent these things?

Because you're in a happy position. You can operate in a party where the struggle is between genuine old Tankies and genuine new Euros. I operate in a party where there is a sort of struggle between our Tankies, our Euros, and a very dominant powerful right wing. And therefore both wings of the Left have to work together.

They haven't done.

Oh they have. They have done quite a lot. All the gains that were made have been when those two elements have worked together. On the internal party democracy issues, the whole of the Left ended up in the same camp: we all struggled to get Militant in, and they came in at the last minute

and eventually everyone else was. On taking over the GLC, the whole of the London Left, for all their suspicions, for all we didn't trust each other, has combined on that. And the only time when anything is achieved within the Labour Party is when all those strands of Left opinion are brought together. And now over the last two or three years, when those links have been breaking down, we've actually seen a position where the Left is much weaker in that sense.

Can you imagine what the Left and the labour movement is going to look like at the end of the century? And how far do you think some of those transformations that we've been talking about are going to be built into its politics and its practice?

The potential is there for it all to happen—and for none of it to happen. If you have a Labour government that behaves in the way the GLC's done, it would massively advance that process. They aren't going to be able to do it in the old traditional way. So the next Labour government, either it's going to be defeated or it's going to have this chance of winning that struggle. Certainly it's not a foregone conclusion.

The way a lot of the parliamentary selections are going is quite interesting because the vanguardist Left is doing very badly. What is derisively called the soft Left, though it might be best to call it participatory Left, I think a much better definition of hard and soft is vanguard and participatory—is that section of the Left that's doing quite well. And so there is a realignment of the issues of race, feminism and sexual politics firmly on the agenda. I think there is everything to fight for. It might just be very little progress by the end of the century, or massive progress.

Ken Livingstone is leader of the Greater London Council and Bea Campbell is the author of *Wigan Pier Revisited* and a member of the Communist Party. This interview is an extract from the article in the current issue of *Marxism Today* available from bookshops at 75p.

FACE TO FAITH

John Pearman

She God

THE CONCEPT "God-as-male" has for centuries made spiritual and devotion much easier for women than for men. A heterosexual female Christian naturally finds it more comfortable to construct and nourish a spiritual relationship with a God-perceived-as-masculine than does a heterosexual male Christian.

Although not paradigms of practical piety, observations such as this signal a deep-seated unease about the gender of God. In recent years the theological ferment has become increasingly audible. Often its manifestations are contradictory. We read of a female Christ being crucified in bronze; theological sexism comes under fire in the context of the militant nonordination of women as priests; a provocative report about the motherhood of God is widely remarked. Why is it that God is suddenly being subjected to this sex test?

One answer to the question would be to say that religion, in common with the secular domains of modern life, is having to demonstrate a sympathetic response to the potent feminising influences which have broken surface in Western culture in the last 15 years.

A sociologist might develop this by pointing to the role of religion as a champion of those who are discriminated against. If previously the concept of God-as-male and the devotion value-judgments which necessarily flowed from that perception have, in effect, been the instruments of subjugation for women (or for men) in the Church, then possibly the most Christian thing to do would be to question openly the veracity of the initial perception. What is at stake for Christian women is their dignity and their self-concept. Or so the argument runs.

The evolution of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica has given its decidedly imputed an analogous, albeit questioning of orthodox perceptions of God. In 1930 Marcus Garvey said: "Our God has no colour yet it is human to see everything through one's own spectacles and when white people have seen their God through white spectacles, we have only now started to see our God through our own spectacles. Spectacles, we have only now started to see our God through our own spectacles. We negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God."

To many black people in Jamaica, Christianity represented a Western European cultural and economic domination. When Crown Prince Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia in 1930, he was proclaimed by Garvey's followers to be a direct descendant of King Solomon, and was hailed as the reincarnation of God and as the Saviour returned. Thus, in the time-honoured manner, religion came to be the vehicle which backed it up with the validating myth of a black-skinned God.

The whole area of discourse here is not about whether God is in actuality negro in appearance or femine in attributes. It is about the ways in which work in religious language is particularly idiosyncratic. It is to be unhelpful to an individual's Christianity if it is counterproductive psychologically—the Christian community should support that person in his search for a more helpful idiom. Conservatives might object that such a process is well known "truth" as revealed in scripture. Liberals might counter by arguing that religion is a way of being rather than a way of knowing, and that the real search should be for Christian idioms which are efficacious in daily experience now.

Religious idioms are only "true" for the individual believer if they work for that believer day by day. The truth consists in the experience of God which the idiom triggers. If God-as-female is a faith-response which has hitherto been pressed by the concept God-as-male, is it not the absolute duty of a living Church to absorb the new idiom and to integrate it fully into its liturgy and government?

John Pearman is a religious education specialist and headmaster of Friern Barnet Grammar School, North London.

The Out of Court column will appear in future on the Friday Agenda page.

Why the opposition can't count on a victory in the bag

Ivor Crewe

THE weekend's varying interpretations of the shire county elections seemed to confirm that there are lies, damned lies and election statistics. This was only partly because politicians got in on the act. Projections of national voting figures (let alone parliamentary seats) are notoriously tricky. The General Election vote is double that in local elections and based on different issues. The quick-and-dirty method of aggregating the votes within a dozen or so parliamentary constituencies runs the risk of relying on a very small sample. Comparing whole counties with 1983 is preferable but needs to be adjusted for the failure of the parties, especially the Alliance, to contest every division. Hence the see-sawing interpretations between a decisive Labour victory and an Alliance triumph.

Almost all analyses, however, paint the same broad picture. Neither Labour's nor the Alliance's strategy of securing a breakthrough by destroying the other has materialised. Labour has recovered all of its 1983 losses but only some of its 1979 losses. In a General Election it would have become the largest party but without an outright majority. It needs a 10.5 per cent swing for a bare overall majority; in the event it was 9.3 per cent. Comparison with October 1974, the last

election Labour won, is instructive (see table). In all but three of the sample counties (each in the North), Labour's share of the two-party vote failed to return to its October 1974 level. In the South and Midlands, where most of the marginals are, its share was nearly 4 per cent down. The 1983 nightmare has been eased but an outright victory remains a dream.

Thursday's results mark both the achievements and limits of the new-look Labour Party under Kinnock. On his election as leader Labour support in the polls shot up overnight to 36 per cent—37 per cent. Except for a few violent months of the miners' strike it has stayed close to there ever since. Both the elections, and the most recent poll, now put the figure at 37.5 per cent. The BBC/Gallup survey of the 1983 election-day found an identical proportion describing themselves as Labour identifiers. Labour is now polling its normal level of support but failing to make additional converts.

The Alliance's result—equivalent to 28.5 per cent of the national vote—was its best for half a century. Previous local election peaks in 1962, 1973 and 1983 have benefited from the media boost of a recent by-election victory (Orpington, Sutton, Hillhead), whereas this vote was won in a particularly low-key atmosphere. Another hint that this advance might be more solid than earlier occasions is the absence of a "plateau" effect. When a

HOW THE VOTES SWITCHED

	Change in share of 3-party vote 1981-85			Change in Lab share of 2-party vote 1983-85		
	Con	Lab	L/SD	Con	Lab	L/SD
Cheshire	-2.3	-0.6	+2.8	-11.6	+8.2	+2.4
Cleveland	+3.5	+0.5	+3.0	-9.5	+8.3	+1.2
Derbyshire	+2.0	-0.3	+0.9	-9.5	+8.3	+1.2
Lincoln	-0.6	+0.1	+0.4	-2.8	+2.9	-
North	-1.1	-0.8	+1.8	-7.6	+6.4	+1.2
Derbyshire	+0.4	-3.0	+2.8	-8.7	+7.8	+0.9
Northants	+0.6	-1.2	+2.5	-10.9	+10.1	-0.1
Nottingham	-1.0	-1.5	+6.5	-8.4	+6.9	+1.4
Warwick	-3.4	-1.2	+4.6	-11.6	+7.5	+4.2
Midlands	-0.9	-3.2	+4.1	-9.9	+8.3	+1.6
Avon	-1.3	-5.5	+6.8	-9.8	+10.1	-0.3
Bedford	+1.2	-2.4	+1.2	-11.5	+11.5	-
Berkshire	+2.8	-4.9	+2.1	-10.8	+6.9	+3.9
Essex	-2.7	-4.4	+7.1	-14.1	+10.4	+3.7
Herts	-4.0	-6.1	+10.2	-12.6	+10.3	+2.3
Hamp	-4.5	-4.2	+8.6	-12.9	+10.4	+2.5
Somerset	-1.3	-4.4	+5.1	-12.7	+6.9	+5.8
South	-1.0	-4.8	+5.9	-12.1	+8.4	+3.7
All c'ties	-1.0	-3.3	+4.3	-10.3	+8.3	+2.0

Adjusted for the number of candidates put up by each party in each county.
October 1974 figures taken from David Butler and Vivie Kittinger. The 1975 Referendum, pp 266-7.

third party benefits from transient national surge, its vote typically goes up most where it was weak—and least where it was already strong. Ward-by-ward analysis of 1981-85 shifts in Alliance support suggests the opposite: it tended to perform best where it had a realistic chance of winning and, judging from its relative success in high turnout wards, where it campaigned hardest. As a result it suffered less severely than before from the first—past—the post electoral system (20 per cent of seats for 30 per cent of the shire-county vote).

Nonetheless, its real achievement is modest. It remains the third party in the polls and in most county halls. At a General Election its parliamentary representation would be a slim 40 or so seats—not enough to exploit, as opposed to hold, the balance of power. More-

over, the SDP's original aim of cutting close to the Labour vote has failed. Since the SDP's formation just before the 1981 shire elections, when the Conservative government was equally unpopular, the share of Labour to the Alliance has been a mere 3.5 per cent. This failure to replace Labour as the anti-Conservative party (except in some Conservative areas) is also reflected in its 2.6 per cent advance since 1983. This results from a substantial loss of converts from Labour in 1983 but a more than compensatory recruitment of disillusioned Conservatives in 1985. In this sense it masks a lost electoral opportunity. If it had retained all its 1983 voters and added its 1985 Conservative recruits the breakthrough would have been complete.

The new party system confirmed by these elections imposes uncomfortable electoral strategies on all three parties. It is not strictly a three-party system but a double two-party system in which the Alliance challenges the Conservatives in the suburbs, small towns and rural areas, and the Conservatives challenge Labour in the larger towns and industrial areas. The Conservative dilemma arises from facing a Labour Opposition in Parliament but an Alliance Opposition in the suburbs.

Their private polls will tell them that their actual and potential defections tend to share Dr Owen's views on defence and the trade unions, and above all on the

economy—on which they are more pessimistic than any time since the Falklands. They blame the Government, insist that there is an alternative, and have grown weary of Mrs Thatcher's style. But a U-turn on the economy would be an admission of defeat and, as Mrs Thatcher has said, she is too old to change now.

The Conservative party's traditional response to a Liberal challenge is to play the anti-Labour card. It worked a treat in 1977-79 during the Lib-Lab pact. Given that 68 per cent of not very strong Conservatives in 1983 said they disliked Labour more than they liked the Conservatives, it might work again. But short of formal Alliance pacts with Labour across the shire it will not be easy to persuade Conservative faint-hearteds that a vote for the Alliance will allow Labour to win Torbay or Cheltenham, and that Dr Owen is likely to team up with Mr Kinnock.

Labour's electoral strategy is much more straightforward: ignore the Alliance and concentrate on opposing the Government. It is only defending nine seats in which the Alliance was the runner up and less than 15 per cent behind; the Conservatives are defending 38. Too successful an anti-Alliance Alliance campaign might only encourage their own supporters to vote Labour in Torbay and Cheltenham, and thus leave the seat in Conservative hands.

Condemning the Alliance for its positions on defence,

trade unions, and the mixed economy, is to praise it in the eyes of the non-socialist voters whom Labour wishes to attract itself. Coalitions in County Hall would be an electoral gift to the Conservatives. Now that the Alliance's role is to recruit disaffected Conservatives (many of whom would never vote Labour), plus Labour supporters where Labour could never win, it is in Mr Kinnock's interest for the Alliance to be sustained not destroyed.

The Alliance's electoral function is just as clear—and unpalatable to many in it. It has shown no capacity to replace Labour in industrial and working class areas and thus supplant the Parliamentary Labour Party—as some of its SDP founders originally hoped. Its role is to replace the local Labour opposition in the small town, rural and suburban areas with the aim of reducing the parliamentary Conservative Party. The more clearly it separates itself from Labour positions on a-nationalisation, unilateralism, and defence of the trade unions—the better its prospects of winning the disaffected Conservative vote, and gaining the seat. And the more such seats it wins, the more it benefits the Labour Party in Parliament. Politics is full of paradox, and no more so than three-party politics.

Ivor Crewe is Professor of Government at the University of Essex. He is grateful to BBC Newsnight and to Anglia TV for allowing him to use the county election results they collected.

Will Shaded ever be ready for the Derby?

Richard Baerlein

Prices offered by the bookmakers on the Ever Ready Derby after Saturday's General Accident 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket, in which Shaded beat Balm a head, give the quite false impression that the Derby is a foregone conclusion between the first two.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. When I heard that Shaded, after a singularly unimpressive performance, was being quoted at a shorter price than the 4-1 on offer before the race, I began to doubt if I had been watching the same event as the layers.

It can be argued for one reason or another that the second in the Guineas, Balm, the third, Supreme Leader, and even the fourth, Royal Harmony, all have chances of beating Shaded at Epsom.

Then there are a number of important Derby trials in the next fortnight, after which Walter Swinburn, when he returns from a particularly savage 21-day suspension, may find a better Derby ride than Shaded from Michael Stoute's powerful stable.

Lester Pigott put up, even judged by his own high standard, one of his more enlightening performances. His switch from Balm did not necessarily account for his 20th classic success, if he had stayed with Balm he would still have won for no one else could have given Shaded the help he needed to hold on at Saturday.

In the Dip Shaded seemed to hesitate momentarily before Pigott forced him to remember his responsibilities. While Lester was adamant that Shaded gave a below-par performance, there will be no chance of judging if that is temporary or permanent as the colt will not run again before the Derby.

The rumour that Michael Stoute had training problems with his colt seemed well founded. I fear his temperamental will hold him back from following in the footsteps of his sire, Nijinsky, and from being the great racehorse his six-lengths victory in the Craven Stakes suggested he might be.

He looked magnificent in the paddock, ready to carry the opposition, yet despite the millions the bookmakers were about to pay out if he won he was easy in the market.

My advice to those who want to follow him to Epsom is to hold their bets until he arrives at the start. Otherwise his ante-post backers will suffer the annoyance of a continuous supply of adverse rumour.

While Luca Cumani owed his 58-1 victory to the Commancere Run to Pigott, he now owed the defeat of Balm to the same genius. Willie Carson, at his most determined, could never quite make up the ground, though Balm ran a marvellous race.

Michael Stoute told Pigott to take Shaded straight to the start rather than keep his place in the parade coming



MICHAEL STOUTE...fined £550

back up the course. That is contrary to the rules of racing and Stoute was fined £550.

Stoute said: "It was in the best interests of the punters."

Rule 14, section two, states that in exceptional circumstances the stewards may cancel a parade or cancel the requirements for horses to be ridden in front of the stands, but it does not say what should happen if a trainer or jockey goes straight to the start and avoids the parade.

If the late William Hill was alive today I think he would make Balm the 5-1 Derby favourite and go 7-1 for Balm.

the comparatively inexperienced Supreme Leader, ridden by Lester Pigott, went for a big easy-way touch on the strength of his colt's gallop with Pebbles.

Supreme Leader, 12-1 for the Derby, can only improve and was putting in his best work at the finish.

Barry Hills was delighted with Royal Harmony in fourth place, though five lengths behind Supreme Leader, in his first outing of the season. Hills is considering the Prix Lupin for his horse's Derby trial - rather a hard task so near to the great race.

Myadon, who is by no means out of Derby calculation, but Henry Cecil will have to find a better candidate than Lantfranco if Steve Cauthen is to ride his first Derby winner.

The Maktoom brothers created something of a record in producing the first two in both the 1,000 and 2,000 Guineas and gained their sixth classic success since their first runners in 1977. No longer does the pre-war axiom that money will never see you to the top in racing hold good.

Peter Walwyn is likely to choose a modest event at Lingfield on Friday to give Khozama his confidence back and then the predominance of Goodwood. The trainer still cannot account for Khozama's poor performance at Epsom.

Silvermine, owned by Mr. Dame Head and trained by her daughter, Crique, best

Michael Stoute's Top Socialite, ridden by Lester Pigott, went for a big easy-way touch on the strength of his colt's gallop with Pebbles.

The favourite, Park Appeal, in the colours of Sheikh Mohammed, was never in the running and suffered her first defeat as did the other Irish-trained runner, Aiydar's Best.

Brian Swift's widow, Sylvia, saddled her fourth winner when Prince Sabo ran out of a comfortable winner of the Palace House Stakes at Newmarket on Saturday and she now hands over that horse, who is likely to become the champion five-furlong sprinter, and others in her stable to Geoff Lewis. In her short spell as a trainer, Sylvia has the record of saddling as many winners as losers.

At Kempton today I like Alalai (2.15). Flyhome (2.45) who should recover Lincoln Handicap losses - and Joyful Dancer (3.15), who runs in the British Car Auctions Jubilee Handicap.

At Doncaster, Bare Essence (3.0) should credit John Dwyer with the Aika Selter Spring Handicap. The Swinton Insurance Brokers Handicap Hurdle at Haydock with 225,000 added, has a very open appearance and, choosing from Statesmanship, Berlin and Alai, I have slight preference for the first-named.

RICHARD BAERLEIN'S SELECTIONS: Kempton: Alalai (2.15); Doncaster: Bare Essence (3.0); Haydock: Berlin (3.0); Sandown: Flyhome (2.45); York: Flyhome (2.45).

KEMPTON

JACQUET & PLACE: ALL SIX RACES
DRAW: HIGH NUMBER DRAWN
+ DENOTES BLINDERS, GOING: FIRM

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- 280 (197) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 281 (198) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 282 (199) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 283 (200) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 284 (201) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 285 (202) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 286 (203) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 287 (204) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 288 (205) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES: 3-Y-6; 11m 500y; 17 runners.
- 289 (206) 215-BLACKHOUSE CAR AUCTIONS FILLES STAKES:

Maurice Hamilton at Imola

Prost ruled out in chaos

MOTOR RACING

Victory in the San Marino Grand Prix was finally awarded to Elio de Angelis of Italy long after the Lotus driver had left the Imola circuit in the belief that he had finished second to the McLaren of Alain Prost.

The McLaren was disqualified for infringing the minimum weight limits at post-race scrutineering and, in some ways, the decision seemed appropriate after an event which had seen Prost steal an apparent victory at the end of a chaotic race.

Thierry Boutsen was classified second ahead of Patrick Tambay's Renault after the Belgian driver's Arrows-BMW. The Lotus driver, straddled the finishing line with Niki Lauda (McLaren) and Nigel Mansell (Williams) also struggled to reach the finish to take fourth and fifth places.

De Angelis's victory, the second win in succession for Lotus, was some consolation for the British team after Ayrton Senna lost the lead four laps from the finish. Stefan Johansson then held the lead for half a lap before his Ferrari coasted to a halt and allowed Prost to take the win.

Prost's careful calculations saw his car run out of fuel as he made his way back to the pits but, what appeared to be a minor hiccup, meant that the Frenchman was eliminated after his car was found

to be four kilograms below the legal limit.

Prost had never been lower than fourth from the start and he took third place from de Angelis on lap 12 of the 60 lap race. An electrical problem on Michele Alboreto's Ferrari allowed Prost to move into second place 11 laps later and, within three laps, he had begun to attack Senna.

The Brazilian, showing all the skills which brought him victory in Portugal two weeks ago, withstood the pressure magnificently and Prost elected to drop back and conserve his fuel.

Johansson, meanwhile, had the crowd on its feet as he worked his way through from 15th place, the Ferrari driver taking third place from de Angelis with a brilliant move on lap 50. Prost offered no resistance four laps later and the Swedish driver suddenly found himself leading as Senna ran out of fuel.

Johansson suffered the same fate a few miles later and Prost's cunning drive appeared to have paid off as he took the lead for the first time, three laps from the end.

Nelson Piquet lost what would ultimately have been third place when his Brabham ground to a halt on the last lap, the chaos allowed Mansell to drive into the championship points for the second race in succession.

Derek Warwick was classified 10th after suffering a slow puncture on his Renault while a similar problem for Martin Brundle kept the Tyrrell driver in ninth place. Jonathan Palmer failed to take the start when his Zakspeed stopped on the warm-up lap with an engine problem.

Sandy Sutherland

Clarke's late lesson

ATHLETICS

Dave Clarke, of Hercules Wimbledon, the 1982 English cross-country champion, overcame the effects of canoeing injuries to win the first of the three Gayer's Inner City road races in Glasgow yesterday.

Despite winning a £750 subvention, Clarke, a PE teacher at Hampton, is reluctant to give up that post to become a full-time runner.

Clarke certainly did not give up in yesterday's competitive 10,000 metres. He was fifth at the start of the last of the 800-metre laps from George Square, but took the lead on the hill and outstripped John Richards (Duchy of Cornwall) and the American Olympian John Tuttle on the slight slope down to the finish.

Clarke, who will either defend his 5,000 metres title or run the 10,000 in the UK Championships in Ulster later this month, was timed at 28 minutes 5.3 seconds. Richards was second at 29 minutes 14.2 seconds, the halfway leader in 14.02, third.

Brian Crowther

Brownson's record

SWIMMING

Suki Brownson (Millfield), who spent the winter studying and training at the University of Calgary, on Saturday broke the British record for 200 metres breaststroke, winning in 2min 33.16sec at the Speedo Cardiff meeting in the Empire Pool.

The 18-year-old Kent girl set the previous record at 2min 34.43sec in 1981. Her time also beat the British B qualification standard for this summer's European Championships. The British selectors recently de-

cided that only swimmers who achieve B time will now be eligible to go to the championships since for financial reasons they have had to reduce the team to 18 swimmers.

Yesterday Brownson completed a breaststroke double when she won the 100 metres in 1min 12.50sec, a meeting record.

SPEEDO CARDIFF (meeting records): Men: 100m breaststroke: A. Brownson (City Leeds) 1:12.50; 200m breaststroke: S. Brownson (Millfield) 2:33.16; 400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5:12.50; 800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 10:25.00; 1,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 20:50.00; 3,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 41:00.00; 4,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 61:30.00; 6,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 82:00.00; 8,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 102:30.00; 9,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 123:00.00; 11,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 143:30.00; 12,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 164:00.00; 14,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 184:30.00; 16,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 205:00.00; 17,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 225:30.00; 19,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 246:00.00; 20,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 266:30.00; 22,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 287:00.00; 24,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 307:30.00; 25,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 328:00.00; 27,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 348:30.00; 28,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 369:00.00; 30,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 389:30.00; 32,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 410:00.00; 33,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 430:30.00; 35,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 451:00.00; 36,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 471:30.00; 38,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 492:00.00; 40,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 512:30.00; 41,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 533:00.00; 43,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 553:30.00; 44,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 574:00.00; 46,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 594:30.00; 48,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 615:00.00; 49,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 635:30.00; 51,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 656:00.00; 52,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 676:30.00; 54,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 697:00.00; 56,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 717:30.00; 57,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 738:00.00; 59,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 758:30.00; 60,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 779:00.00; 62,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 799:30.00; 64,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 820:00.00; 65,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 840:30.00; 67,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 861:00.00; 68,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 881:30.00; 70,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 902:00.00; 72,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 922:30.00; 73,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 943:00.00; 75,200m breaststroke: M. 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Brownson (Millfield) 5248:00.00; 411,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5268:30.00; 412,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5289:00.00; 414,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5309:30.00; 416,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5330:00.00; 417,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5350:30.00; 419,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5371:00.00; 420,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5391:30.00; 422,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5412:00.00; 424,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5432:30.00; 425,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5453:00.00; 427,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5473:30.00; 428,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5494:00.00; 430,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5514:30.00; 432,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5535:00.00; 433,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5555:30.00; 435,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5576:00.00; 436,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5596:30.00; 438,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5617:00.00; 440,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5637:30.00; 441,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5658:00.00; 443,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5678:30.00; 444,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5699:00.00; 446,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5719:30.00; 448,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5740:00.00; 449,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5760:30.00; 451,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5781:00.00; 452,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5801:30.00; 454,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5822:00.00; 456,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5842:30.00; 457,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5863:00.00; 459,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5883:30.00; 460,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5904:00.00; 462,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5924:30.00; 464,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5945:00.00; 465,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5965:30.00; 467,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 5986:00.00; 468,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6006:30.00; 470,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6027:00.00; 472,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6047:30.00; 473,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6068:00.00; 475,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6088:30.00; 476,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6109:00.00; 478,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6129:30.00; 480,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6150:00.00; 481,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6170:30.00; 483,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6191:00.00; 484,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6211:30.00; 486,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6232:00.00; 488,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6252:30.00; 489,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6273:00.00; 491,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6293:30.00; 492,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6314:00.00; 494,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6334:30.00; 496,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6355:00.00; 497,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6375:30.00; 499,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6396:00.00; 500,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6416:30.00; 502,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6437:00.00; 504,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6457:30.00; 505,600m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6478:00.00; 507,200m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6498:30.00; 508,800m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6519:00.00; 510,400m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6539:30.00; 512,000m breaststroke: M. Brownson (Millfield) 6560:00.00; 513,600m breaststroke: M.

